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KACHCHĀYANA'S

PĀLI

GRAMMAR.



AN  
INTRODUCTION  
TO  
KACHCHAYANA'S GRAMMAR  
OF THE  
PĀLI LANGUAGE;  
WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX, NOTES, &c.

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BY  
JAMES D'ALWIS,

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AUTHOR OF AN INTRODUCTION TO SINHALESE GRAMMAR, THE  
SIDATSANGARA, CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL LITERATURE,  
THE ATTANAGALUVANSA, ETC., ETC.

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WILLIAM STONE

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JOHN STONE



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TO SIR CHARLES JUSTIN MACCARTHY, K.T.  
Governor and Commander-in-Chief.  
&c., &c., &c.,

SIR,

THE practice of inscribing a literary work to the Ruler of the land is very ancient, and very general. In the East it has been almost universal; and in Ceylon, while the Poets and Historians of old sought the patronage of the *King*, the translators and compilers of recent times have dedicated the result of their labours to the British *Governor*.

In inscribing, however, the present work to you, I do not merely follow a time-honored rule, nor seek to do homage to a Power which stands in no need of any evidence of our loyalty and attachment. But, remembering that it was your kind patronage which chiefly enabled me to publish a previous work; and knowing that to you, who are familiar with many of the questions discussed in the following pages, they will possess an interest which they do not possess to the general reader; I take the liberty of dedicating this work, as a token not only of my gratitude, but also of the high esteem which, in common with my countrymen, I entertain for your abilities as a Governor, and your attainments as a Scholar.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your Excellency's  
Most obedient and humble Servant,

JAMES ALWIS.

*Hendala, 28th August, 1862.*

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**THE**  
**INTRODUCTION.**



## INTRODUCTION.

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THERE is hardly a country on the face of the Globe which presents greater facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the *Pali*, than Ceylon; and, perhaps, no nation possesses greater advantages for its study than the Sinhalese. *Pali*, like the Sanskrit and the Sinhalese, forms a necessary part of the course of education pursued by the natives.\* Our Alphabet is common to these several languages,† and the affinity which the *Pali* bears to the Sinhalese, both verbally and grammatically, renders its study far more easy to the people of this country than even to the Burmese.

Although the Sinhalese, as a language, has been latterly neglected; the *Pali*, from its being the dialect in which the Buddhist scriptures are recorded, has always been the principal study of the largest portion of the Ceylonese, who are followers of Buddha. From the period when it became the sacred language of the land, kings and princes have encouraged its study; nobles and statesmen have vied with each other to excel in its composition; and in it laymen and priests have produced some of our most elegant works. The names of Batuvantudave, Hikkaduve, Lankàgoda, Dodanpahàla, Valàna, Bentota, Kahave, and Sumangala, amongst a host of others, are familiar to *Pali* scholars, as those of the learned who are even *now* able to produce compositions‡ by no means inferior to those of a Buddhagosa or a Paràkrama, though, like the modern Sanskrit, certainly more artificial than some of the more ancient writings.

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\* See my *Sidatsangarà*, p. 222.

† *Ib.* p. xi., et seq.

‡ For a specimen, See Appendix.

The number of books, too, in the Pali language, is greater than in the Sinhalese; and, though those on Religion far exceed those upon other subjects, it is, nevertheless, a fact, that the Pali literature of the Sinhalese is not deficient in works upon other branches of Oriental Science. It presents indeed a proud array of extensive volumes on Prosody, Rhetoric, Medicine, and History. On Grammar alone there are no less than forty Pali works;\* whilst in the Sinhalese there is but one, the solitary *Sidat-Sangarà*. From the constant study of Pali in the Buddhist monasteries of this island, the books in that language are found to be comparatively free from errors: and it is a well known fact, that the Buddhist priests, unlike the Brahmans, are willing to give Pali scholars; whether Buddhist or Christian, free access to their libraries.

Advantages like these, combined with others, enabled the Hon'ble George Turnour, late Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, to attract the attention of Orientalists to the high claims of the Pali language as existing in Ceylon. In the prosecution of his labours with such a praiseworthy object, he drew attention, in his elaborate Introduction to the *Mahāvansa*, to some of the Pali works formerly extant in Ceylon, and, amongst them, to Kachchāyana's Grammar, which he then regarded as extinct. This, in the very outset of my Pali studies, after many years' devotion to Sinhalese literature, I ascertained to be a mistake;† having added it to my library, in a purchase

\* "The high state of cultivation to which the Pali language was carried, and the great attention that has been paid to it in Ceylon, may be inferred from the fact that a list of works in the possession of the Sinhalese, that I found during my residence in that Island, includes thirty-five works on Pali Grammar, some of them being of considerable extent."—Rev. S. Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, pp. 191-2.

† I find that this is also extant in Burmah. The Rev. F. Mason of the Baptist Union says:—"The grammar reputed to have been written by Kachchāyana, still exists. I had a copy made from the palm-leaf, on small quarto paper, and the Pali text occupies between two and three hundred pages, while the Burmese interpretation covers more than two thousand. I



of Pali books which I had then (1855) recently made from the collection of the late lamented F. D' Levera, Esq., District Judge of Colombo. Shortly afterwards I communicated the fact to some of my friends in Europe; and the repeated communications which I have received from them, especially from Dr. Rost of Canterbury, urging upon me the necessity for the publication of a Pali Grammar, and expressing a curiosity to examine Kachchâyana, have induced me to publish a Chapter from it, as an Introduction to a fuller translation.

In laying this before the public, I propose to give a brief account of some of the Pali Grammars known in this country, including a notice of the age and author of the work here presented; and also an Essay on the relations of the Pali to the Sanskrit.

The terms *Pali* and *Mâgadhi* are at the present day indifferently employed in Ceylon, Ava, Siam, and even China, to express the sacred language of the Buddhists; and, being confined to those countries, the term *Pali* is not met with in any of the Indian writings.

*Mâgadhi* is the correct and original name for the Pali. It was not so called in consequence, as some suppose, of the mission of Asoka, the king of Magadha, to introduce Buddhism into Ceylon.\* It had received that name before the age of that monarch,† and was so called after the ancient name of Behar. It was the appellation for the ancient vernacular language of Magadha. It was the designation for the dialect of the Magadhas.—*Magadhanan bhâsà Mâgadhi*.‡

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made a compendium of the whole Pali and English, a few years ago, on the model of European Grammars, which might be printed in one or two hundred pages, and convey all the information contained in the two or three thousand in manuscript.—*Am. Or. Journal*, iv. p. 107.

\* *Professor Spiegel's Kammavachâ*, p. vii.

† See *Sanyut Sangiya*.

‡ *Prâkrit Prakâsa*, p. 179.

*Pàli* is comparatively a modern name for the *Màgadhi*. It has not originated from 'the region called *Pallistan* the (supposed) land of the *Pali*,—our *Palestine*.' It does not come from *Palitur* in Tyre—the so-called 'Pali tower or Fort.' It has no historical connection with 'the Palatine hills of Rome.\*' It was not called after the Pehlve, the dialect of the Sessaniant dynasty, nor is it derived from "*Palli* a village, as we should now-a-days distinguish *gunavàri* 'village,' 'boorish,' from *Urdu*, the language of the Court."† Nor does it indeed mean "root" or "original."‡

Like *àli* the word *pàli* originally signified a 'line,' 'row,' 'range,'§ and was gradually extended to mean 'suttan,' from its being like a line;|| and to signify edicts,¶ or the strings of rules in Buddha's discourses or doctrines, which are taken from the Suttans.\*\* From thence it became an appellation for the *text* of the Buddhist Scriptures, as in the following passages:—

\* See the Friend, vi. p. 236.

† Prinsep, Bengal As. J., vii. p. 282.

‡ Turnour's Mahāvansa, p. xxii., where he merely gives the opinion of the Buddhists; and this is no more correct than the Brahmanical opinion, that *Prākṛita* means 'the derived.'—Vide post, p. xxxix.

§ See *Abhidhānapadīpikā*, p. 71. It is indeed not a little curious that Mohammedans, between whom and the Buddhists there was no intercourse at the period when their sacred books were written, call the larger portions of the Koran "*Sowar*," ('*Sura*,' Sing.) signifying precisely as the word *Pàli* does, 'a row, order, or regular series.' The Arabic *Sūra*, whether immediately derived from the Sanskrit '*Sreni*' or not,—is the same in use and import as the *Sura* or *Tora* of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three Sections of the Pentateuch, *Sidārim*, a word of the same signification.

|| Itaran pana; Atthānan sūchanato; sūvattato savana totha sūdanato Suttānato sutta sabhā gatocha suttan suttanti akkhātan.

¶ The other (which is) the *Suttan*, is called '*Suttan*' from its illustrating the properties (of duties); from its exquisite tenor; from its being productive (of much sense); and from its overflowing (tendency) the protection (which it affords); and from its being like a string.—*Buddhagosa's Atthakathā*.

¶ Hevan cha hevan cha me pāliyo vadetha: 'Thus, thus shall ye cause to be read my *pāliyo* or edicts.'—*Prinsep's Asoka Inscript.*

\*\* Yattācha suttana sangalhitāni pupphāni navi kiriyaṇi naviddhan siyanti eva me thena sangalhitā atthā. 'As flowers strung together with a string are not scattered, so likewise the doctrines which are taken from this (Suttan) are not lost.'—*Samangala Vilāsini*.

Thereyàchariyà sabbe Pàlin viya Tamaggahun:—‘All the three preceptors held this compilation in the same estimation as the *text* (of the Pitakattàya).’\* Thera vādehi pālehi padeli vyanjanehicha. ‘In the *Thera discourses* as in the *text* (of the Pitakattàya); and in an expression as in a letter.’† From thence again *Pāli* has become the name of the Māgadhi language in which Buddha delivered his doctrines.

The Pali has also received the designation of *Tanti*, ‘the string of a lute,’‡ its Sanskrit cognate being *tantri*. From that signification it seems to have been originally applied by the Brahmans to *tantra*, ‘a religious treatise teaching peculiar and mystical formula and rites for the worship of their deities, or the attainment of super-human power,’ or, ‘that which is comprized of five subjects, the creation and destruction of the world, the worship of the gods, the attainment of all objects, magical rites for the acquirement of six super-human faculties, and four modes of union with the spirit by meditation.’§ The Magadhas, before their secession from the Brahman religion, probably used the Māgadhi term, *tanti* in this sense; but when they embraced the Buddhist faith, they used it to signify the *doctrines* of Gotama, as in the following passages:—  
 (i) Sammā Sambuddho pi te pitakan Buddha vachanan *Tantīn* āropento Māgadhi bāsāyeva aropesi—‘Buddha who rendered his *tepitaka* words into *Tanti* (or *tantra* or *doctrines*) did so by means of the Māgadhi language’—*Vibhanga Atuvā*.  
 (ii) Tivagga sangahan chatuttinsa suttanta patimanditan chatu satthi bhānavāra parimānan tantin sangāyetvā ayan dīgha nikāyo nāmā’ti—‘Having rehearsed the *Tanti* (the doctrines) which contain 64 *banavāra* embracing 34 *Suttans* composed of 3 classes, (this was) named Dīghanikāya’—*Bodhivansa*.

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\* Mahavansa, p. 253.

† Ib. p. 252.

‡ Abhidhānapadīpikā, p. 16.

§ Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary.

From its application to the Buddhist doctrines, *Tanti* has become a name for the sacred language itself of the Buddhists—viz., the *Māgadhi* or *Pāli*. Thus in Buddhagosa's *Atthakathā*:—‘Why was the first convocation held? In order that the *nidānan* of the *Vinaya pitaka*, the merits of which are conveyed in the *Tanti* (Pāli) language, might be illustrated.’\* Thus also, in the *Bālavatāra*, in a part of the passage which answers to §58 in the Rev. B. Clough's version, where it is left untranslated:—

Eva maññā pi viññeyyā  
 Sanhitā tanti yā hitā;  
 Sanhitā clita vannānan  
 Sannidha'byava dhānato.

That is to say, ‘In this wise know the rest of the combinations which are susceptible in the *Tanti* (language.)—*Sanhita* is the combination of letters without a hiatus.’

For the elucidation of the grammar of this language there are three schools; or, in other words, all Pali Grammars extant in Ceylon may be divided into three classes, viz., (1) *Saddanīti*; (2) *Moggallāyana*; and (3) *Kachchāyana*.

1. There are but few treatises which come under the first.

2. Under the second head there are several, all which have been written upon the principles laid down by *Moggallāyana*, the writer of *Abhidhānapadīpikā*. Owing to the omission of the *Introduction* and *Conclusion* of that work in the edition published by the Rev. B. Clough, oriental scholars have expressed various conjectures as to its date. As a help, however, to those who may be engaged in antiquarian researches, and with a view to fix the date of *Moggallāyana*, the omissions are here supplied.

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\* B. A. J., vol. vi. p. 511.—*Pathama mahā sangīti nāma eṣā kinchā-pi vinaya pitake Tanti'n āvullhā*. ‘This first great rehearsal was moreover rendered into *tanti*, (the original discourses or the text) on the *Vinaya Pitaka*,’—*Sumangala Vilāsini*.

## ABHIDHANAPADIPIKA.

1. Tathàgato yo karunà karo karo  
'Payàtamossajja sukhap padan padan  
Akà paratthan kalisam bhavè bhavè  
Namàmi tan kevala duk-karan karan
2. Apùjayun yam muni kunjaraà jarà  
'Rujàdimuttà yahimuttare tare  
T'hità tivattambu nidhin narà'narà  
Tarinsu tan dhamama' maghà pahan' pahan
3. Gatan munindo' rasasûnutan nutan  
Supuññakhattan bhuvane'sutan sutan  
Ganampi pàni kata sanvaran varan  
Sadà guno' ghenà nirantaran taran
4. Nàma lingesu kossallam  
'Attha nichchhaya kàranam  
Yato mahabbalan Buddha  
Vachane pàta vatthinam.
5. Nàmalingàn' yato Buddha  
Bhàsitassà' rahà n'aham  
Dassayanto pakàsissam  
Abhidhàna' padipikan.
6. Bhìyo rùpan tarà sàha  
'Chariyena cha katthachi  
Kvachà' hachcha vidhànena  
Neyyan thipun napunsakan.
7. Abhinna linginàn yeva  
Dvando cha linga vachakà  
Gàthà pàdanta majjhattà  
Pubban yantya'pare paran.

8. Pūmitthiyan padan dvīsu  
 Sabba linge cha tīsvitī  
 Abhidhānan tarā rambhe  
 Neyyan tvanta mathādi cha.
9. Bhīyo payoga māgāmma  
 Sogate āgame kvachi  
 Nighandu yuttin chāṇīya  
 Nāma lingan kathīyati.

‘I adore *Tathāgata*, who is a mine of compassion, and who, having renounced the beatific *nibban* within his reach, conferred happiness on others, performing all the difficult-to-be-accomplished acts in metempsychosis, the fountain of sin.

‘I (adore) the sin-scaring *Dhamma*, to which holy sages, devoid of decrepitude and disease, have paid reverence; and by conformance to which the high and the mean, both (amongst) men and other beings,\* have crossed the tri-annular† ocean (of metempsychosis.)

‘And ever (do I adore) the supreme *priesthood*, (like unto) a merit-(producing) field, who have become the legitimate sons‡ of Buddha; and who receive reverence—are illustrious in the (three) worlds—preserve the *saṃvara* § like life itself—and ever practise an abundance of virtues.

‘Since an intimate acquaintance with *nouns*, and (their) *genders*, is essential to the (ascertainment of) the correct significations (of words), and is a powerful help to those desirous of mastering the word of Buddha;

\* “*Nara* and *ānara* ‘human and non-human.’

† The “*tivattambunīdi*.” ‘The ocean, encompassed with three circles, is here used for “metempsychosis;” and the three barriers are *Kamma*, action which begets merit and demerit; *Klesa* evil, trouble, pain or sorrow; and “*Vipāka*” the rewards of merit and demerit.’

‡ *Sons*—a term applied to disciples.

§ That is, ‘Preserve the *Sīla* or precepts.’



' I shall publish the *Abhidhānapadīpikā*,\* illustrating nouns and (their) genders, according to their application in the language of (the discourses of) Buddha.

' The masculine, feminine, and neuter are to be distinguished, chiefly, from their different forms; sometimes from the association of words (context); and sometimes by specific rule.

' [In this work] *dvandvī* compounds will consist (of nouns) of the same genders. When words which denote the genders occur at the end or the middle of a line in a verse, (such words) refer to the (names at the) beginning (of that line); (but where they are placed at) the commencement, (they refer to) the remaining words (of the same line.)

' Know that the term *dvīsu* denotes both masculine and feminine; that *tisū* signifies all the genders; and that words ending in *tu* or (preceded by) *atha* &c., are given to express the commencement of a series of names.

' Nouns and (their) genders are (here) illustrated, according to their application, chiefly in the Buddhist works, and sometimes after the usage adopted in Lexicons.'

The above is the Introduction to the *Abhidhānapadīpikā*; and I cannot conceive why it was omitted in the translation of that work by Mr. Tolfrey, and was left out by his publisher, the Revd. B. Clough. At the conclusion of the same book are also nine stanzas, which are likewise left out in the publication above mentioned; and which, since they enable us to fix the date of the work, are here subjoined:—

- 1 Sagga kando cha bhū kando  
Tathā sāmāñña kaṇḍakan  
Kaṇḍattayanvitā esā  
Abhidhāna padīpikā.
- 2 Tidive mahiyan bhujagā vasathe  
Sakalattha samavhaya dīpanī'yam  
Iha yo kusalo matimā sanaro  
Paṭu hoti mahāmunino vachane.

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\* Lit.—“Lamp of Nouns.”

- 3 Parakkama bhujjo nàma  
Bhùpàlo gunna bhùsano  
Lankàya' mási tejassì  
Jayi kesari vikkamo.
- 4 Vibhinna chira bhikkhu sangha nikkàya  
Tayasmin cha kàresi sammà sammagge  
Sadehanva nichehà 'daro digha kàlan  
Mahagghehi rakkhesi yo pachchayehi.
- 5 Yena Lankà vihàrehi  
Gàmà'ràma purihicha  
Kittiyàviya sambodhi  
Katà khettehi vāpihì.
- 6 Yassà' sàdhàranan patvā  
'Nuggaham sabba kāmādam  
Ahampi gandha kārattam  
Patto vibudha gocharam.
- 7 Kārīte tena pāssāda  
Gopurādi vibhūsite  
Sagga kande va tattoyā  
Sayasmin patibimbite.
- 8 Mahā Jetavanā khyamhi  
Vihāre sādhu sammate  
Sarogāma samūhamhi  
Vasatā santa vuttinā.
- 9 Saddhammatthitī kāmēna  
Moggallānēna dhīmatā  
Therēna rachitā yesā  
Abhidhānapadīpikā.

‘The Abhidhānapadīpikā consists of three sections—on Heavenly, Earthly, and General subjects.

‘It interprets the names of all objects in Heaven, Earth, and the Nāga regions. A sensible person who excels in this, will master the words of the great sage.

‘There was in Lankā a Monarch named *Parakkamabāhu*—celebrated, successful, endowed with virtues, and valorous as a lion.

‘ He in the right manner (in the legitimate mode) reconciled\* the *bhikkhus* and *Sanghas* of the three *Nikāyas*;† and, with unceasing love, long extended his protection to (them) as to his own body, with valuable objects of maintenance.‡

‘ He established to profusion in Lankà, in the same manner that it was filled with his renown,§ monasteries,¶ villages,|| parks,\*\* cities,†† fields‡‡ and tanks.§§

‘ Being the special object of his wish-conferring patronage, I too, have acquired the privilege of authorship peculiar to the learned.

‘ Desirous of perpetuating the *Saddhamma*, the *Abhidhānapadīpikā* was composed by the erudite *Moggallāna thera*,

‘ Of mild deportment, dwelling amongst the *Sarogāma*¶¶ fraternity (who were) received by the virtuous with approbation; and (residing) in the *Vohāra* called the *Mahà Jeta-vana*;—

‘ [A monastic Establishment] adorned with the temples, ornamented porches, &c., which were built by him (the aforesaid king) as it were a portion of Heaven reflected in his Tank.’

Here we have sufficient data to fix the date of the *Abhidhānapadīpikā*. It was composed by a *thera* named *Moggallāna*, who had been patronized by king *Parakkama*. His

\* “He reformed the religion.”—Upham Vol. I. p. 299.

† “Association or Congregation performing the same duties.”

‡ *Pachchaya*—“Objects of maintenance” which are four, viz., *chivara* ‘garments’; *pindapata* ‘food’; *senasana* ‘sleeping objects’; *gilana pachchaya* ‘that which is necessary for the sick—medicines.’

§ See Ceylon Almanac for 1834.

¶ “He built the Viharas in the City of Anuradhapura”—*ib.* at p. 196.

|| “The King also made several hundreds of houses and many streets arranged with shops.”—*Mahawansa*.

\*\* “He formed many pleasant and delightful gardens.”—*Mah. C. B. A. S. J.* p. 148.

†† “He built three more Cities.”—Upham’s *Mahawansa*, p. 277.

‡‡ “He formed Paddy fields.”—*Mah. C. B. A. S. J.*, Vol. VII., p. 141.

§§ “The King also repaired many ancient Tanks.”—*Mahawansa, ib.* p. 149.

¶¶ This is a Pali translation of the Sinhalese proper name *Velgam*.

acts, which are here related, can only be identified with those of "the heroic and invincible royal warrior, gloriously endowed with might, majesty, and wisdom; and radiant with benignant virtues,"\* "the most martial, enterprising and glorious of the Sinhalese Sovereigns,"† who, according to history, was Parakkamabàhu of Polonnorua. He ascended the throne in 1153 A. D.; and when we notice that that sovereign, who reigned for thirty-three years, turned his attention to the internal improvements which are here mentioned, in the latter part of his reign, and after he had brought his local and foreign wars to a termination; we may assign to the Abhidhānapadīpikā a date at the latter end of the second half of the twelfth century. This, therefore, is posterior to the Amarakosa, which is much after the fashion of the Abhidhānapadīpikā. To show their correspondence we need only present the three following introductory stanzas from the first named work.

‘The masculine, feminine, and neuter (genders) are to be known chiefly by their different forms; sometimes by the association of words; and sometimes by specific rule.

‘Here, with a view to distinct elucidation (nouns of) different unspecified genders are not rendered into *dvanda* compounds. Neither are they, without order, jumbled together; nor indeed expressed by *eka sesha*.‡

‘The term *trīshu* (denotes) the three genders; and *dvayoh* the male and female. (Where a certain) gender is expressly negated, the remaining ones (are meant); and, where words ending in *tu* (occur or) *atha*, &c., they do not refer to the preceding (words).’

\* Inscription in Ceylon Almanac for 1831.

† Mahawansa, p. lxi.

‡ *Eka sesha*: "one left out" i. e., the omission of one to designate the same by another, which has been mentioned; or, conversely, the expression of one name to designate another omitted name of the same genus or family; as Asvinau "the two Asvin," in the dual, designate 'the Physicians of heaven, and twin sons of the sun, or children of the constellation *Asvini*,' who are separately named *Nasaiya* and *Dasra*.

Moggallāyana's Grammar, to which we may assign the same date that was given to the *Abhidhānapadīpikā*, is written in imitation of Kachchāna's style; and contains rules, supplementary notes or *Vutti*; and examples. The same writer has left behind a large commentary on this work. It has been further illustrated by Totagamuva\* in his *Panchikā-pradīpa*, a Sinhalese work, held in high esteem among the learned. Piyadassi, a pupil of Moggallāyana has, moreover, written an abridgment of his master's work, called the *Pada-Sādana*, from which the following is extracted:—

Satthānam karuṇā vatā gatavatā  
 Pāram param dhīmatā  
 There nā 'tuma pādapanjara gato  
 Yo sadda satthā disū.  
 Moggallāyana vissute niha suvach  
 'Chāpo vinīto yathā  
 So' kāsip Piyadassi nāma yati 'dam  
 Byattan Sukhappattiyā.

'With a view to facilitate (study) this specific (work) has been composed by the ascetic named Piyadassi, who, like a paroquet which was taken into the cage of his (feet) tuition, was trained in the science of grammar &c., by the wise, generous, and erudite† Moggallāyana *thera* of (world-wide) renown.'

There is also a Commentary on the above by *Ananda*, a pupil of Medankara; from which we select the following introductory remarks:—

1. Yassā tulan samadhi gamya parappasādan  
 Sampāditam parahitan vipulan mayedam  
 So sangha rakkhita itirita nāma dheyyo  
 Bhānūva bhātu suchirāya mahādisāmi.
2. Saddhā dhanassa paṭipatti parāyanassa  
 Sallekhiyena likhitā khila kibbisassa  
 Odumbarā bhi hita pabbata vāsi kassa  
 Medankaravhaya mahā yati pungavassa.

\* See my *Sidatsangara* p. li.

† Lit. 'who has attained to the end of sciences.'

3, *Siladi settha patipatti parānugena*  
*Sisso-rasena saparattha ratena tena*  
*Ananda nāma pathi tena tapo dhanena*  
*Sankhepato nigadito Padasāghanattho.*

1. 'May the Supreme Lord named Sangharakkhita, by the acquirement of whose unparalleled patriotism\* this great benevolent (deed) has been achieved by me, long exist like the sun !

2 and 3. 'The Padasādana has been concisely commented upon by the ascetic known by the name of Ananda, (who is) bent upon doing good to himself and others ; (who has) adhered to the principal (religious) usages of *Sīla* &c. ; (and who is) a pupil† of the preeminent chief-priest named Mendankara, that dwelt on the Mountain called Odumbara,—(was) rich in faith, (was) attached to (religious) duties, and (had) scratched off all sin by *Sallekhiya*.‡

*Payogasiddhi* by Vanaratana, in the reign of one of the Buvanekabāhu's, is also a Pali Grammar upon the basis of Moggalāyana, from the Commentary to which Turnour has quoted in his introduction to the *Mahāvamsa*.

3. The next, and, by far the most numerous, class of Pali Grammars are founded on the principles enunciated in the *Sandhikappa*, usually called after the name of its author *Kachchāyana*. This, as I have already stated, is extant in Ceylon ; and, from a list of Burman Pali works in my possession, I find that it is also found in that empire. The several other editions or revisions of Kachchāyana's Grammar, which, as remarked by Mr. Turnour, "profess, according as its date is more modern, to be more condensed, and methodized than the preceding one", are the *Rūpasiddhi* and *Bālavatāra*.

Buddhappiyo commences the *Rūpasiddhi* in these words :

"Kachchāyananchāchariyan namitvā ; nissāya Kachchāyanawannanādin, bālappabodhatthamujun karissan Wyatttan sukandan padarūpasiddhin."

\* Lit. 'love for others.'

† Lit. 'Son-pupil.'

‡ 'Those religious observances which lead to the destruction of *ke'sa*.'



"Reverentially bowing down to the Achárayo-Kachchàno, and guided by the rules laid down by the said Kachchàyano, I compose the Rùpasiddhi, in a perspicuous form; judiciously subdivided into sections, for the use of degenerated intellects (of the present age, which could not grasp the original.)"—*Mahāvansa*, p. xxvi.

The following is in the conclusion of the same work :—

"Wikkhyàtānandatherawhaya waragurūnan Tambapan-niddhajānan sisso Dīpankarākkhyo Damilawasumatī dīpalad-dhappakāso Bālādichchādi wāsaddwitayamadhiwasan, sāsanan jotayī yo, soyam Buddhappi-yawho yatī; imamujukan Rùpasiddhin akāsi.

"A certain disciple of Anando, a preceptor who was (a rallying point) unto eminent preceptors like unto a standard, in Tambapanni, named Dīpankaro, renowned in the Damila kingdom (of Chola) and the resident-superior of two fraternities, there, the Bālādichchā (and the Chudāmanikyo), caused the religion (of Buddho) to shine forth. He was the priest who obtained the appellation of Buddhappiyo (the delight o Buddho,) and compiled this perfect Rùpasiddhi."—*Mahāvansa*, p. xxvi.

Before I notice the principal and the oldest work with which we are concerned, viz., Kachchàyana's Grammar, I shall mention the names of some of the principal Comments thereon to which I shall have occasion to refer in the course of these notes; viz.

Nyāsa or Mukhamatta Dīpana

Kachchàyana bheda

Kachchàyana bhede Tīkā

Kachchàyana bhede Vannanā.

Kachchàyana Vannanā

Kachchàyana Sāra

Kachchàyana Sāra Tīkā

Sandhikappa Atuvā

Sandhikappa Viggahā.\*

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\* For a list of Pali Grammars, see Appendix.

All these have been written expressly for the purpose of elucidating the text of Kachcháyana, which, I need scarcely say, is held in the same high estimation by Buddhists that Pánini is by the Brahmans.

Kachcháyana's Grammar is divided into eightbooks. The first treats on 'Combination', the second on 'Declension', the third on 'Syntax', the fourth on 'Compounds', the fifth on (Tadhita) 'nominal Derivatives,' the sixth on 'Verbs', the seventh on (Kitaka) 'verbal derivatives,' and the eighth on *Unnádi* Affixes.'

These are found subdivided into Chapters or Sections. But, all the aphorisms do not exceed six hundred and eighty seven.\* The following extract embraces the writer's introductory remarks, together with the first Section of his Grammar :—

Setthan tiloka m ahitan abhivandi yaggan  
 Buddhan cha dhamma' mamalan gana' mutta mancha  
 Satthussa tassa vachanattha varan subuddhun  
 Vakkhàmi sutta hita' mettha su Sandhikappan.  
 Seyyan Jinerita nayena buddhà labhanti  
 Tanchà'pi tassa vachanattha subhodhanena  
 Attan cha akkhara padesu amoha bhàvā  
 Seyyatthi ko pada'mato vividhan suneyya.

'Having reverentially bowed down to the supreme chief Buddha adored by the three worlds, and also to the pure *dhamma*, and the illustrious priesthood; I now celebrate† the (pure) Sandhikappa in accordance with the *Sutta*, to the end that the deep import of that teacher's words may be easily comprehended.

'The wise attain to supreme (bliss) by conforming (themselves) to the teachings of Buddha. That (is the re-

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\* *Satta situttana Sutta*  
 cha sata sun pamanato=687 Suttans.

† *Vakkhami* "I utter"—The true import of this word taken in connection with the allegation that 'Kachchayana published (pakasesi) his Grammar in the midst of the priesthood' may lead to the inference that it had at first only a memorial existence. But, since the same words are found used in works which were doubtless *written* from the beginning, the phraseology alone does not, I apprehend, warrant that inference.

sult) of a correct acquaintance with the import of his word. The sense, too, (is learnt) by a [non-ignorance] knowledge of characters and words. Wherefore, let him who aims at that highest felicity hear the various verbal forms.'

Lib. I. Section 1.

1. Attho akkhara saññāto.

The sense is known by letters.

2. Akkharā pādayo eka chattālistan.

The letters, *a* &c., are forty one.\*

3. Tattho dantā sarā attha.

Of these the eight ending with *o* are vowels.

4. Lahumattā tayo rassā.

The three light-measured (are) short.

5. Aññe dighā.

The others, (are) long.

6. Sesā byanjanā.

The rest are consonants.

7. Vaggā pancha panchāso mantā.

Each (set of) five to the end of *m* (constitutes) a class.

8. An iti niggahitan.

The *An*† is a dependent.

9. Para samaññā payoge.‡

Other's names in composition.

10. Pubba' madho'-thitam' assaran sarena viyojaye.

Let the first be separated from its (inherent) vowel, by (rendering) the *preceding*§ a consonant.

Such is the sententions brevity with which the Rules in Kachchāyana's Grammar are expressed. The author adopts three modes of explaining them. First, *Vuttiya* or

\* Moggallāyana disputes the correctness of this *Suttan*, and says that the Pali, alphabet contains forty-three characters, including the short *e* (epsilon) and *o* (omicron.) The Sinhalese Alphabet, which is nearly as old as the Sinhalese nation also omits these. This is evidence of that language being derived from the Pali.

† The *anusvara*.

‡ Names or technical terms.

§ *Adho-thitam* "that which stands below [after such separation.]" The word *below* must however be understood to mean *preceding*; for in composition, which Eastern writers regard as a tree from *bottom to top*, the first-written character is considered as being at the *bottom* or *below* the rest.

*Vārttikas*, comments to supply the deficiencies in the Suttas, and to render them clear; secondly examples; and thirdly explanatory notes on some of the principal grammatical terms in the shape of questions and answers. To these again are occasionally added a note to mark the exceptions to the Rule. In the examples mention is made of several of the places and towns which were rendered sacred by the abode of Gôtama, such as *Sāvatti*, *Patāli*, *Baranasi* &c.\* There is also much correspondence between the Pāninya Suttas and those given in Kacchāyana. E. G :—

1. Apādāne panchamī *Panini* III. 4, 52.

*Apadane panchami—Kachchayana.*

So likewise :—

2. Bhūvādayo dhātavah. I. 3, 1.

*Bhuvadayo dhatavo.*

3. Kālādhvano ratyanta sanyoge. II. 3, 5.

*Kaladkhana machchanta sanyoge.*

4. Kartarī krit. III. 4, 6.

*Kattari kit.*

5. Asmadyuttamah. I. 4, 107.

*Amhe uttamo.*

Again, the text of Pānini is altered to meet the exigencies of the Pali Grammar, thus ;

6. Tinas trīni trīni pathama madhiyamottamāh

*Dve dve pathama majjhimuttama purisa.* [I. 4, 101.

Tradition represents that, the whole work (including *Vutti*) as we now have it, was written by one and the same person. But this is contradicted by another Tradition. On this, I shall offer a few observations hereafter.

From its language, the Pali Grammar appears to be a very ancient work. It was probably written at a time when literature was usually carried on in the concise Algebraic form of

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\* These are doubtless, taken from "the contemporaneous History of Buddha," which, as stated by Buddhagosa, "contains records such as these—'at such a period Bhagava dwells at Savatthi, or at the Jetavana vohara' . . . . 'he dwells at Rajagahan, or at the Veluvana Vohara'. . . . 'he dwells at Vesali' &c."

aphorisms. This is put down by Pr. Max Muller at 600—200 B. C., embracing the period at which the founder of Buddhism flourished, and which upon the best proof on which a date may be fixed in Asiatic History, was not only posterior to the *Mantas* (which are identified with the *Védas* \* the *Vedangas* and *Veyyākaraṇa*, but subsequent to the *Mahā Bhārata*,† *Rāmāyana*; *Asvalāyana*‡ and *Parāśara*; and upon other data,—477 B. C.

To the indefatigable labours of the learned translator of the *Mahāvāṇsa*, whom I have so frequently mentioned in the course of these notes, were Europeans first indebted for the information as to the probable date of Kachchāyana's Grammar. In order to render my observations clear, Mr. Tournour's authorities on the subject are here extrated.

“ In the commentary on the *Rūphasiddhi* we find the following distinct and important particulars regarding Kachchāyana, purporting to be conveyed in his own words :—

“ Kachchāyano sigrifies the son of Kachcho. The said Kachcho was the first individual (who assumed that name as a patronymic) in that family. All who are descended from that stock are, by birth Kachchāyana.

“ (If I am asked) who is this Kachchāyano? Whence his name Kachchāyano? (I answer), It is he who was selected for the important office (of compiling the first Pali Grammar, by Buddho himself; who said on that occasion): ‘ Bhikkhus from amongst my sanctified disciples, who are capable of elucidating in detail, that which is expressed in the abstract, the most eminent is this Mahākachchāyano.’

“ Bhagawā (Buddho) seated in the midst of the four classes of devotees, of which his congregation was composed (viz.

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\* These are said, in the Buddhistical annals, to have been compiled by *Attaka*, *Vessamitta*, *Yamataggi*, *Angirasa*, *Bharadvaja*, *Vasettha*, *Kassapa*, and *Bhagu*.

† *Mahābhārata* is frequently mentioned under the designation of *Itihāsa*. As *valāyana* is mentioned by *Gotama*. Vide extracts *infra*.

priests and priestesses, male and female ascetics :) – opening his sacred mouth, like unto a flower expanding under the genial influence of Surio's rays, and pouring forth a stream of eloquence like unto that of Brahmo—said: ‘My disciples! the profoundly wise Sàriputto is competent to spread abroad the tidings of the wisdom (contained in my religion) by his having proclaimed of me that,—‘To define the bounds of his omniscience by a standard of measure, let the grains of sand in the Ganges be counted; let the water in the great ocean be measured; let the particles of matter in the great earth be numbered’; as well as by his various other discourses.

“It has also been admitted that, excepting the saviour of the world, there are no others in existence whose wisdom is equal to one sixteenth part of the profundity of Sàriputto. By the Achàrayos also the wisdom of Sàriputto has been celebrated. Moreover, while the other great disciples also, who had overcome the dominion of sin and attained the four gifts of sanctification were yet living; he (Buddho) allotted, from amongst those who were capable of illustrating the word of Tathàgato, this important task to me,—in the same manner that a Chakkawatti ràja confers on an eldest son, who is capable of sustaining the weight of empire, the office of Parinàyako. I must therefore render unto Tathàgato a service equivalent to the honor conferred. Bhagawà has assigned to me a most worthy commission. Let me place implicit faith in whatever Bhagawà has vouchsafed to propound.

“This being achieved, men of various nations and tongues, rejecting the dialets which had become confused by its disorderly mixture with the Sanscrit and other languages, will, with facility acquire, by conformity to the rules of grammar propounded by Tathàgato, the knowledge of the word of Buddho ‘Thus the Thero Mahá Kachchàyano, who is here (in this work) called simply Kachchàyano, setting forth his qualification; pursuant to the declaration of Buddho, that “sense is

represented by letters", composed the grammatical work called *Niruttipitako*.\* *Mahāvansa* p. xxvii.

Before I notice some of the objections urged against the above tradition, it may perhaps be convenient to refer to the various other Pali writers who have given it the sanction of their high authority.

Kachchāyana commences his work, as we have already seen, with *Atthó akkhara saññāto*; and it has already been shewn from the passage quoted by Turnour, that that Suttan was declared by Buddha himself. This is more clearly stated as follows in the

#### SUTTA NIDDESA.

*Attho akkhara saññāto*-ti ādi māha; idan suttan kena vuttan? Bhagavatā vuttan. Kadā vuttanti—Yama Uppala nāmakā dve Brahmanā *Khaya-vaya* kammatthānan gahetvā gachchhantā Nadi-tīre *Khaya-vayanti* Kammatthāne kariyamāne eko udae machchan ganhitun charantan bakan disvā, udaka bakoti vicharati. Eko ghate patan disvā ghata pato ti vicharati, Tadá Bhagavā obhāsan munchitvā *attho akkhara saññāto*-ti vākyan thapesi. Tesan cha Kammatthānan patitthahi. Tasmā Bhagavatā vuttanti vuchchati. Tan nātvā mahā Kachchāno Bhagavantan yāchitvā Himavantan gantvā Mano-silā tale dakkhina disā bhāgan sisan katvā purāthhima disābhimukho hutvā *attho akkhara saññāto*-ti ā dikan *Kachchāyana pakaranan* rachi.

'It is said that 'sense is represented by letters' &c. By whom was this suttan declared? It was laid down by Bhagavā. (To explain) when it was declared:—Two Brahman (Priests) Yama and Uppala, having learnt (from Gotama) the *khaya-vaya* branches of *Kammatthānan*† went away; and, whilst engaged in abstract meditation repeating 'Khaya-Vaya' on

\* "Another name for the *Rupasiddhi*."—In the above note Turnour identifies *Rupasiddhi* with *Niruttipitaka*. But, it would seem that the latter is an original work of Maha Kachchayana, different from his Grammar, and different also from his theological work entitled the *Nettipakarana*. See *Kachchayana Vannana*.

† Studies such as abstract meditation &c., preparatory to the attainment of the paths leading to *Nibban*.

the banks of the *Nadī*, one of them saw a crane proceeding to catch a fish in the water, and began muttering\* *Udako bako* 'water-crane.' The other, seeing a *ghate-patan* 'a cloth in a pot' began muttering *ghata-pato*. At this time Bhagavà by means of a light, which he issued, declared the sentence, *Attho akkhara saññato*—'The sense is represented by letters.' Their *Kammattànan* was also effectual. Wherefore it is said that this Suttan was declared by Bhagavà. When Mahà Kachchàna learnt this, he proceeded with Bhagavà's permission to *Himavanta*. Reclining in the *Mano-sīla* region with his head towards the south, and facing the east he composed the *Kachchàyana-pākaraṇa* consisting of (the Suttans) *attho akkhara saññato* &c.'

In the *atthakathā* to the *Anguttara Nikāya* Mahà Kachchàyana is spoken of;† and the Tika to the same work contains further particulars which are quoted in the following extract from

#### THE KACHCHAYANA VANNANA.

Achariyà pana lakkhana vutti Udāharana sankhātan iman Kachchàyana gandha pakarānan Kachchàyanattherena eva katanti vadanti. Tena āhā eka nipāta Anguttara tikāyan 'Mahà Kachchàyanatthero pubba patthanā vasena Kachchàyana pakarānan, Mahà Nirutti pakarānan, Netti pakarānan, chāti pakarānattayan sangha majjhe pakāsesi.'

'Teachers say that this Kachchàyana *gandha pakarāna* (Text or composition) which numbers *lakkhana* (Rules), *vutti* (supplementary notes), and *Udāharana* (Examples), was composed by Kachchàyana *thera* himself. Wherefore the Tika to the Anguttara of the *Ekanipāda* says; 'the *thera* Mahà Kachchàyana, according to his previous aspirations, published in the midst of the priesthood the three compositions, viz. *Kachchàyana Pakarāna*, *Mahà Nirutti Pakarāna*, and *Netti Pakarāna*.'

\* Or rather pondering on what he had observed.

† Vide extract therefrom infra



Of the three books here mentioned the *Netti' Pakarana* is also extant in this Island; and it has been suggested by my Pandit that the style of this work, of which I give a specimen,\* would seem to differ from that of the Grammar. There can be no question of this. The language of a work such as the Pali grammar, in which (to adopt the words of Professor Max Muller in respect of Pāṇini) the author "does not write and compose, but squeezes and distils his thoughts, and puts them before us in a form which hardly deserves the name of style,"† cannot bear any comparison to the style of a work on religion, where the object was to convince and fascinate the reader, and not to cramp the writer's ideas in small sentences with a view to render a facility to those who committed them to memory. Even in other languages works on science and religion written by the same person present the same diversity of style which the subject may demand. The one may be terse, sententious, and dry; and the other full, flowing, and elegant as is the case here. The difference of style, therefore, in these two works, does by no means furnish any ground for overthrowing the authorship ascribed to this *Pāli Grammar*. And, I am again reminded by my learned Pandit that the metre of some of the gāthās in Kachchayana are different from those in the text-books of Buddhism such as *Dhammapada*; and that that difference would favor the belief that this grammar was written long after the Buddhist era.

I freely admit the force of the learned Pandit's observation, that the difference of metre (if, such were the fact) between confessedly Gotama's gāthās, and all other Pāli writings (including Kachchayana's grammar) would establish a line of demarcation between two periods of literature. And I also confess that I have been disappointed in my search after a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, such as *Setthan tiloka mahitan* &c.,‡ in any of the original writings in the Buddhist

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\* See Appendix.

† Sanskrit Literature p. 312.

‡ See the introductory Verses of Kachchayana quoted at p. xvi.

works. But, leaving this question for the determination of future researches, and of more competent scholars than myself, I may be permitted to remark that the absence of a particular metre in Buddha's lectures does not necessarily prove that it was unknown in his time. Different metres suit different compositions. There are some which are peculiarly adapted to the genius of the oldest form of the Pali, before it received the elaborations of poets. Such are the Anustubh, the Tristubh, the Anustubh-tristubh, the Jagatī, the Tristubh-Jagatī, and the Vaitālīya metres which we frequently meet with in old writings. The Vasantatilaka is generally unsuited to the Pali, as it is to the Sinhalese, and other so-called Prākṛita dialects. Although compositions in that metre are occasionally found in works of both those languages; yet they have all the evidence of being forced, and abound with compounds, of which the really old Buddhist writings are comparatively free. This is doubtless the reason why this particular metre (Vasantatilaka) is not to be found in the lectures of Gotama, which were expressed, as occasions presented themselves, with a view to impart religious instruction, without study, and without any attempts at ornament. The case with the grammarian was, however, different. Except in the Suttans which were designed for instruction, he seems to have studied ornament. Perhaps too, he was fond of display. He, as we learn from himself, did not despise Sanskrit grammatical terms. He had no reason, therefore, to reject really Sanskrit metres in which he could with elegance depict the virtues of his Teacher. Hence the adoption in this grammar of metres which are not met with in original Buddhist writings.

There is not, therefore, I apprehend, sufficient evidence to set aside the popular tradition as to the author of this Grammar, which I perceive is supported by various considerations and inferences which may be drawn from several histo-

rical facts. That the *Māgadhi* which the Buddhists denominate the *Pāli*, was an actually existent form of speech in Behar at the time Buddhism arose, may be easily believed.\* Yet, before this period when the Magadhas had but one common religion, and, perhaps, cultivated the language in which that religion was taught with greater zest, it is not improbable that the treatises to elucidate the vernacular *Māgadhā* were, as the Sinhalese Grammar are at the present day, limited. And this is obviously the reason why Kachchāyana, as he himself declares, had borrowed technical terms from *Sanskrit* authors.

PARA SAMANNA PAYOGĒ. (Vutti)—yā cha pana sakkata gandhēsu samañña ghosā' ti vā aghosā' ti vā tā payoge sati etthā' pi yujjante. 'In composition other's appellations. [Vutti.] Such (Grammatical) terms as are called *ghōsa*, (sonants) or *ajhōsa* (surds) in Sanskrit (gandhas†) compositions are here adopted as exigency may require.'

By 'Sanskrit' sources, perhaps, the writer meant the *Prākṛit* Grammars by Sanskrit writers, or such Rules of Pānini as are indicated in the following extract from the *Kavikanthapāsa* by Kedāra-bhatta :

Pānini bhagavān Prākṛita  
Lakshana mapi vakti Sanskritā danyat :  
Dīrghāksharancha kutrachi  
Dekān mātṛa mupaitīti.

That is :—'Pānini, the Rishi, speaks also of the lakshana (or Grammatical Rules) of Prākṛita, besides the Sanskrit; and (says) that in some languages a long letter‡ becomes one syllabic instant.' But, whether this inference be well founded or not, it is quite clear that this was one of the earliest Pāli Grammars, which borrowed its technical terms, not from *Pāli* but, Sanskrit writers. Its object too, was to fix the Rules of

\* See Sanyutta Nikaya—as to the *Magadhi* being the language of Magadha.

† This word is sometimes written *gantha*.

‡ The commentator explains that by a 'long letter' are meant the Sanskrit *e* and *o* which become short in some languages, or are each equal to one syllabic instant.

that language; since at the time Kachchâyana wrote his Grammar the Māgadhi, like other "dialects," had a tendency to become 'confused by its disorderly mixture with the Sanskrit and other languages.' This is a fact. As a vernacular dialect, the Māgadhi scarcely maintained its character in Asia till the age of Asōka. Two hundred years had hardly elapsed before its development was 'intermediate between the Pali and Sanskrit.' There must therefore, have been a gradual declension in Pali literature during those two centuries. Indeed this could not have been otherwise when we ascertain that the very pupils of Gotama had resorted to other languages for the elucidation of Buddhism. Hence the necessity for a compilation like Kachchâyana's—a work on Grammar 'for the easy comprehension of the word of Buddha'—*Sukkhēna Buddha Vachanan ugganhissanti-ti*; and as *Kachchâyana* himself says in the opening of his work, written, not according to the vernacular dialect of the Magadhas, but 'in accordance with the (language) of the Suttants'—*vakkhāmi sutta hita metta su Sandhikappan*.

These are not all the circumstances from which it may be inferred that Kachchâyana's Grammar was written at the first dawn of Buddhism. As was the case with all ancient nations, a sacred literature gave rise in Magadha to philological sciences. Religious doctrines when disseminated through a written medium, naturally led the Buddhists to Grammatical inquiries. The necessity for rescuing the *dhamma* from corruption, and for preserving their correct interpretations, as already seen, was a powerful inducement to Gotama's disciples to fix the rules of their Preceptors' words, the *Jīna vachana*, as the Māgadhi is called in most ancient works.

It may, however, be asserted that neither was writing known six centuries before Christ, nor, consequently, were Buddhist doctrines recorded at that date. I have discussed this question elsewhere, and I may here state, as the result of

those investigations, that at the time when Buddhism first started into existence, writing was known in Magadha as much as painting.\* It was *practised* in the time of Gotama.† Buddhist doctrines were conveyed to different countries by its means.‡ Laws and usages were recorded.§ Little children were taught to write.¶ Even women were found able to read and write.|| The character used was the *Nāgari*.\*\* Vermilion was the 'ink', and metal plates, cloth, hydes, and leaves constituted the 'paper' of the time.†† That Buddhist annals therefore, were reduced to writing from the very commencement, is not only reasonable, but is indeed capable of easy and satisfactory proof.

To return to the subject. The literary qualifications of the théra Kachchāyana, seem to have been indeed such as to warrant the belief that he devoted his time to the elucidation of the *language* of Buddhism. He was, as is abundantly proved in the Pali works, a distinguished member of the Buddhist Church. He is also mentioned in the Tibetan Buddhistical Annals, as one of the disciples of Gotama; and it is expressly stated of him, that 'he recited the *Sūtra* on emancipation in the *vulgar* dialect.' By 'the vulgar dialect' Mons. De Korési doubtless meant the language to which Colebrooke had previously given that appellation—the *Māgadhi*. Gotama himself states, that of all his pupils Mahā Kachchāyana was the most competent to elucidate his doctrines. In the very language of the sage, which is here quoted from the *Ekanipāta* of the *Angutta Nikāya*: Etanag-gan Bhikkhavē mama sāvakānan bhikkhūnan sankhittena bhāsītassa vitthārena atthan vibhajantānan, yadidan Mahā

\* Pānchāsudaniya. lib. iii. in my possession.

+ Id. also *Maha Vagga*. See *Chamakkhanda* and a host of other authorities.

‡ Id. *Sanyut Nikaya*—&c. &c.

§ *Sumangala Vilasini*.

¶ *Maha Vagga*.

|| *Sanyut Nikaya*; *Maha Vagga*, and *atthakatha* to *Dhammapala*

\*\* *Pāncha Sudaniya*.

†† That such was the fact may be easily gathered from several authorities.

Kachchàno—‘Priests, he who is Mahà Kachchàyana is the chief of all the *bhikkhus*, my pupils, who can minutely elucidate the *sense* of what is concisely expressed.’ That this supremacy refers to the literary, and not the theological, attainments of Kachchàyana appears from the following comment which we extract from the atthakathà to the *Anguttara Nikàya*.

Aññe kira Tathàgatassa sankhepa vachanan Attha vasena vā pūritun sakkonti vyañjana vasena vā; ayan pana therò ubhayenāpi sakkoti: tasmā aggo-ti vutto.

‘Some are able to amplify the concise words of Tathàgata *either* by means of letters, *or* by [shewing] their sense. But this therà can do so in *both* ways. He is therefore called *chief*.’

In the *Nyāsa* or the *Mukha matta-dīpanī*, which is supposed to be the earliest commentary on Kachchàyana’s Pali Grammar, and, as may be proved, older than the *Rūpasiddhi*, the author of this Grammar is not only identified with the Kachchàyana therà, whose ‘intellectual supremacy was extolled by Buddha’; but his memory is thus respected by an ‘Obeisance.’

Kachchàyanan cha muni vannita buddhi-’massa  
Kachchàyanassa mukha matta’ mahan karrissan  
Pàramparà gata vinichchaya nichchhayan cha.

‘Also (bowing down to) Kachchàyana, whose intellectual attainments had been complimented by Buddha, I shall comment upon the positive conclusions (Rules) which have been handed down by tradition as the very *oral* (teachings)\* of this Kachchàyana.’

With reference to the name Kachchàyana in the above extract, the following passage occurs in the *Nirutti sàra Manjusa*: wherein also the writer acknowledges the consummate scholarship of the Grammarian.

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\* *Mukhamatta* ‘the very (word of) mouth’, a term which does not necessarily imply the absence of writing.

Kasi Kammādinā vyāpārena kachchati dīppatīti Kachcho, therā pitā tassa apachchan putto Kachchāyano Neruttukānan pabhava bhūto pabhinna pati sambhido etadagga thāne thapito khināsavatthero, tan pana natvāna.

‘By reason of the occupation of ploughing &c. [comes] *Kachchati* ‘he shines.’ Thence *Kachcho*, (the name of) the therā’s father. His son is Kachchāyana—a therā, who was an *arahanta*, who was placed in the highest position, who had attained the *patisambhidā*,\* and who was the first cause (source) of all Neruttikā, [Grammarians or] philologists.’

Although it is stated† that Kachchāyana was residing at Avanti, the *pachchanta* or ‘the foreign regions’‡, it is however expressly stated that this Grammar was written in the *Himavanta*; and from the mention of the principal towns celebrated by the presence and abode of Gotama, and especially that which had risen from a small village to the importance of a populous city in the time of the sage, I mean *Patāliputta*,§ it may be inferred that the writer took for his examples such of the names as were then of *recent* celebrity.

\* See *Sivipilisimbia* in Clough’s Dictionary. Turnour has defined this to be ‘the attainment of the four gifts of sanctification.’

† In the *Chammakkhandaka* Section of the *Maha Vagga*.

‡ Dr. Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*, says that ‘the people whom Yaska designates *Prachyas*, or *men of the East*, must have been the Kikatas or the Magadhas, or the Angas, or the Vangas.’—p. 371. In the Buddhist annals however, the word *Pachchanta* is used to designate all the countries beyond the *Majjhima desa*, which is thus defined in the *Maha Vagga*: ‘Here the *Pachchanta* are these Countries. On the East [of *Majjhima*] is the market town called Kajangala, and on the West *Maha Sala*. Beyond them is the great country of *Pachchanta*, and this side of it is the *Majjha*. On the South-east is the river called *Salalavati*. Beyond it is the *Pachchanta* country, and this side of it the *Majjha*. On the South is the town called *Setakanni*. Beyond it is the *Pachchanta* country, and this side of it the *Majjha*. On the West is the Brahman village called *Thuna*. Beyond it is the *Pachchanta* country, and this side of it the *Majjha*. And on the North is the mountain called *Usuraddhaja*. Beyond it is the *Pachchanta* country, and this side of it is the *Majjha*.’

§ It is stated in the Buddhist annals (see the first *Banavara* of the *Parinibban Suttan*) that this city, which in modern times has received the name of *Patna*, was built during the lifetime of Gotama, for the purpose of checking the *Vajjians*; and it is also stated that at the time it was built by *Sunidha* and *Vassakara*, two ministers of the reigning prince *Ajatasatta*, Gotama predicted its future opulence and grandeur as well as its partial destruction by fire and water.

As we have already seen, the Māgadhī scarcely maintained its original purity in the *Magadha desa* until the second ecumenial convocation; and the code of the Vajjian heretics, which was made at this time, and which may be clearly identified as the Nepal collection,\* was in point of language “intermediate” between the Pali of Kachchāyana and the Dhammapada; and the Prākṛit of the Pillar-dialect.

These are important facts, which prove that the Grammar in question was composed in the golden age of the Pali literature—before it became interlarded with the Sanskrit, and before the language was so much neglected, (as at the time of the second convocation), that, except those who maintained the orthodox version of the Scriptures, literary men were unable to pay correct attention to ‘the nature of nouns, their genders, and other accidents of Grammar, as well as the various requirements of style.’†

Nāma lingan parikkhāran ākappakaranāni cha

Pakāṭibhāvan vijāhitvā, tañcha aññan ākantsute.

Thus, when the uniform and popular tradition stated in the above extracts, which there is no reasonable ground to set aside, is coupled with the many inferences to which I have directed attention; it is, I apprehend, very clear that Kachchāyana, the author of *Sandhi-kappa*, was one of the eighty eminent disciples of Gotama. As such, he must have flourished in the latter-half of the sixth century before Christ.

Against this popular belief I have been referred by several friends to another name of Kachchāyana, the author of the *Abhidharma Jñāna prasthāna*, mentioned in the following account of Hiouen-thsagn, the Chinese traveller of 629—645, A. D.

Après avoir fait environ cinq cent li, au sud-est de la capitale (de Chīnapati), il arriva au couvent appelé Ta-mo-sou-fa-na-seng-kia-lan (Tāmasvana-sanghā rāma), ou le convent

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\* See Appendix. † *Dīpavansa*.



de la Forêt Sombre. On y comptait environ trois cent religieux qui suivaient les principes de l'école des Sarvāstivādas. Ils avaient un extérieur grave et imposant, et se distinguaient par la pureté de leur vertu et l'élévation de leur caractère. Ils approfondissaient surtout l'étude du petit Véhicule. Les mille Buddhas du kalpa des sages (Bhadrakalpa) doivent, dans ce lieu, rassembler la multitude des Devas et leur expliquer la sublime loi. Dans la trois centième année après le Nirvāna de Śākya Tathāgata, il y eut un maître des Sāstras, nommé Kātyāyana, qui composa, dans ce couvent, le *Fa-tchi-lun* (Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna.)—*Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales par Hiouen-thsang, liv. iv. p. 200.*

'Having travelled about five hundred *li* southwest of the capital (of Chínapati) he arrived at the monastery called Tamou-sou-fa-na-seng-kia-lan—(Tamasvana Sanghārāma) or the monastery of the dark-forest. About three hundred Religious are reckoned in this place, who follow the principles of the *Sarvāstivādas* school. They maintain a grave and imposing exterior, and are remarkable for purity of virtue, and elevation of character. They are engaged in the profound study of the little vehicle. The thousand Buddhas of the Kalpa of the wisemen (Bhadrakalpa) were bound to assemble, in this place, the whole multitude of the Devas, and expound to them the sublime law. In the three hundredth year after the nirvāna of Śākya Tathāgata, there was a master of the Sāstras, named *Kātyāyana*, who composed in this monastery, the *Fa-tchi-lun* (Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna.)'

Here there is nothing to establish the identity of persons. The age too, given by the Chinese pilgrim, does not throw any light on the subject. If Kātyāyana, the author of *Abhidharma-jñāna Prasthāna* lived 300 A. B., he flourished after Asoka, and, according to the same authority quoted by Cowell, in a 'Monastère fondé par Asoka'; and at a time when he was sure to have figured very conspicuously in the Buddhistical annals of Ceylon.

The absence, however, of any notice regarding him, proves, as I apprehend, what the Chinese traveller himself indicates, that Kàtyāyana of *Tamasvana Sanghārāma* was one who followed the principles of the *Sabbatti vāda*\*-school, and, therefore, one of the seventeen sects mentioned in the *Dīpāvansa*—‘who distorted the sense and phraseology (of the scriptures); omitted a portion of the original (compilation) and of the *gāthās*; substituted others (in lieu of them); disregarded the nature of nouns, their genders, and other accidents, as well as the various requisites of style; and corrupted the same by different substitutions.’

Now, it is quite clear, from the evidence contained in the above passage, as well as from that furnished by the style of the Nepal scriptures, and also from the statements in the Chinese accounts, that the language used by these sectarians was, as stated by Professor Burnouf, ‘one intermediate between the Pali and the Sanskrit’; that it was called the *Fan*, or the *Brahman* language, as that word is unmistakeably used in the following passage—Le dieu *Fan* (Brahman) et le roi du ciel (Indra) établirent des règles et se conformèrent au temps;’ and that it was a language with the *dual* number, and therefore the *Sanskrit*, as moreover the name *Abhidharma jñāna prasthāna*, the work itself attributed to Kàtyāyana clearly indicates.

It is also stated that the Buddhists had an object in ascribing this Grammar to Kachchāyana. Professor Max Muller traces the *animus falcendi*, to a ‘tendency of later Buddhist writers to refer the authorship of their works to names famous in ancient Brahmanic history.’—p. 303. There is, I believe, no foundation for this assertion. ‘One swallow does not make summer.’ Much less does a single instance prove a practice. One solitary exception is here made the rule, especially in regard to a question of *custom*—‘the tendency of a people to do certain acts.’ If, therefore, no other names but “*Kachchā-*

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\* See appendix.

*yana*" can be pointed out in support of this allegation, the allegation itself, I apprehend, is disproved.

But, to take a brief excursus into the subject, nothing can be clearer from the history of Buddhism, as we find it in the annals of Ceylon, than that the Buddhists, in imitation of their teacher, have always attempted to draw a distinction between themselves and other sects, especially the Brahmans. This will be found to be the case, even where there is no substantial difference between them. Although Buddhism, I am persuaded, arose out of Brahmanism, and although the very doctrines of the former are built upon those of the latter; yet there is scarcely a single subject upon which the doctrines of both are identical. Gotama, it would also seem, never lost an opportunity to draw some distinction between his own doctrines, and those of the Brahmans. Take, for instance, the doctrines of 'the Creation'; of [*âtman* or *âttha*] 'the soul'; of [*Nirvâna* or *nibban*] 'eternal bliss' &c. &c.; and none can fail to perceive the attempt that is made by Buddhists to vary the Brahman doctrines. In this endeavour they have got into confusion, as in the case of *Nibban*, which even Nâgasena pronounces to be 'a mystery.'

I may also allude to the institution of *Castes*. Gotama varied the Brahmanical doctrine on the subject. He differed from them as to its origin. He abolished that distinction among the priesthood. Although he never preached against it in a *social* point of view, and never affirmed it to be sinful, and pernicious to *society*; yet to set aside the pretensions of the 'twice born' he declared the *universal equality* of mankind in a *religious* point of view.

Khattiyo settho jane tasmin ye-gotta patisàrino

Vijjà charana sampanno so settho deva manûs.

'Amongst mankind, who are scrupulous in regard to their lineage, the *Khattiya* is supreme; but he who is endowed with *Vijjà* and *Charana* is supreme, both amongst devas and men.'

The *Vijjā* and *Charana* are also thus defined by the Buddhists :—

Vipassanā-ñāna manomayiddhī  
 Iddhippabhedo pīcha dibha sotaṇ  
 Parassa cheto pariyāya ñānaṇ  
 Pubbēnivā sānu gatancha-ñānaṇ.  
 Dibbancha chakkhā sava sankha yocha  
 Etāni ñānaṇ idhattha vijjā  
 Alankarun yā muni dhamma deham  
 Visesa sobhā guna majjhu peta.

‘ Here the eight *Vijjā* are the (following heads of) knowledge ;—abstract devout meditation ; power to assume any corporeal figure whatever at one’s will ; the various other attributes of *iddhi* ;\* divine hearing ; knowledge of that which is produced in another’s mind ; knowledge of the state of previous existences ; a divine perception ; and the extinction of (distressful) desire. These, which are peculiar attributes or qualities, embellish the [*dhamma*] religious-body of Buddha.’

Sīlaṇ varan indriya saṇ varocha  
 Mattā sitā jā-gariyā’nu-yogo  
 Saddhā hīrottappa bahussutataṇ  
 Parakkamo cheva satī matīcha.  
 Chattāri jhānaṇīcha tāni’ mānī  
 Tīpancha dhammā charanāni jāññā  
 Etehi vijjāhīcha sampayogo  
 Sampanna vijjā charaṇa muninda.

‘ Know that these fifteen constitute the *Charana* ; (viz.) observance of the supreme precepts, subjugation of the passions, eating ordinally,† wakefulness,‡ faith, shame (for sin), fear (of sin), much hearing (study), prowess, retentive memory (*sati*), understanding (*matī*), and the four jānas.§

\* For an explanation of this, see Hardy on Buddhism, p. 50v.

† Which is explained to be—‘ to eat only to live for religion—but not to live to eat only.’

‡ Refraining from much sleep—which the recluse is restricted to the middle watch of the night, or four English hours at midnight.

§ Abstract meditation which leads to the entire destruction of all cleaving to existence. See Gogerly’s Essay C. B., A. S. J. ii. 15.

By the association of these with the foregoing *Vijjā* the supreme Buddhā was endowed with *Vijjā* and *Charana*.—*Pradīpikāva*.

The anxiety of Buddhists not to identify themselves with Brahmans appears also from the meanings which the former attach to the very words borrowed from the latter, *e. g.*

*Brahmachariyā*, 'the Brahman in his noviciate' is interpreted to mean 'the whole course of Buddhist religious duties.\*' Take again the word *Valabā*. Between it and the Sanskrit word *badavā*, there is but the difference of the two dialects; for the interchange, occasionally, of *b* and *v*, and the change of the Sanskrit *d* into *l*, in the Pāli, is well known. Taking this, therefore, to be the Sanskrit word *badavā* we find that the Buddhists, whilst adopting the Brahman word for "*Aurva*, sub-marine fire, called *badava* or *bādava*, and personified as the son of the Saint Urva", assign to it the like meaning of 'a sub-marine fire', but, with a view to differ from the Brahmans, explain it to be—not the *deva* of the Hindu Pantheon, 'who, consisting of flames but with a mare's head sprung from the thighs of Urva, and was received by the ocean', but—as Milton describes it,

————— 'a fiery deluge, fed

With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd.'

"The unquenchable fire of hell, so rigorous that its contact with water only inflames it the more."† And the *badarā-mukha* 'the mare's mouth', wherein the Hindu Urva entered, is also known to the Buddhists as *valabāmukha*; but they define it to be 'a pool or hollow in the trough of the Sea, occasioned in stormy weather by the waves rolling towards the Meru or the Sakvala-gala.'

To return to the alleged 'tendency of later *Buddhists* &c.' I have closely searched, but in vain, for a single instance (Kachchâyana excepted) in which the Buddhists of any period might be charged with such a weakness.

\* See remarks of Mon. Burnouf in his *Histoire du Bouddhisme*, 1. p. 141.

† Attanagaluansa, Cap. ii. § 1.

Take, for instance, the *Āṭṭṭhī* or *Bālavatāra*, and other Pali Grammars which have already been noticed. There is no correspondence between the names of their reputed authors, and the “names famous in ancient Brahmanic history.” Take also such names as Mihindu, Buddhagosa, Ananda, Buddhapiya, Vanaratana, Moggallāyana, and Anomadassi, and we look in vain for their celebrated prototypes ‘famous in Brahmanic history.’ True, some of the Buddhist names are Brahmanical, and for the simplest of all reasons, that Buddhism arose out of Brahmanism, and on Brahmanical soil; and that some of ‘the most famous in Brahmanic history’, such as *Amara*, *Purushottama*, *Hemachandra*, &c., have embraced the new religion. Moreover, in the East, Brahman appellations were anciently, as they are at present, common names. Amongst the coolies in the Coffee and Cocanut plantations of Ceylon do we meet with many a *Parasi Rāmā*, *Chandra*, &c., &c.; yet, with the exception of the Patronymic *Kachchāyana*, it is difficult to find a single name of a Buddhist writer, which can be ‘referred to similar names amongst the Brahmans famous in history.’

The reason too, for the anxiety evinced by Buddhists not to identify themselves with Brahmans, may be easily explained. It was to remove the reproaches of the Brahmans, such as the following, which *Kumārila* casts upon the Śākya fraternity.—“These Śākyas, Vaiseshikas, and other heretics, who have been frightened out of their wits by the faithful Mimansakas, prattle away *with our own words as if trying to lay hold of a shadow*.”\*

Having thus noticed the arguments for and against the alleged date and authorship of this Pali Grammar, it is indeed a matter of curious inquiry, especially in view of the similarity between it and Pāṇini;—‘what relationship does the Pali *Kachchāyana* bear to its Sanskrit prototype? And here I shall first dwell upon the alleged identity between the author of the *Prākṛit Prakāśa*, and *Kachchāyana*. Professor Cowell,

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\* Max Muller's Sanskrit Literature p. 84.

the erudite translator of the *Prākṛit Prakāsa*, thus notices the subject :—

“ *Kātyāyana* has always been the reputed author of the *Vārtikās*, or supplemental remarks on the ancient Grammar of *Pāṇini*; and both names are found in the accounts of the Chinese Buddhist *Hsuan-thsang*, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century of our era. *Pāṇini* is called *Pho-ni-ni*, and described as the founder of music, which appears to be the nearest Chinese expression for a Grammarian; the passage relating to *Kātyāyana* is as follows.\* ‘ *Tchi na pou ti* (erigé par les Chinois), limite de l’Inde du Nord. . . . . Au sud-est de la grande ville, à 500 *li*, monastère de *Tha mo sou fa na* (forêt obscure); là a vécu le docteur *Kia to yan na*, 300 ans après le *Nirvāna*† Monastère fondé par *Asoka*.’ The Buddhist traditions in Ceylon all agree in calling the author of the earliest Pali Grammar *Kachchāyano*;‡ and although this is said to have perished, yet when we remember how very closely allied Pāli is to *Prākṛit*, and that *Kachchāyano* is simply the *Prākṛit* form of *Kātyāyana*, there can be little doubt that the *Prākṛit* grammar of the one and the Pali grammar of the other, are only the Brahmanical and Buddhist versions of the same tradition.”—p. viii.

The learned Professor’s argument amounts to the following :—‘ *Kātyāyana* alias *Vararuchi* was the writer of the *Pāṇinya-Vārttikas*. *Kachchāyana*, between whose name and that of *Kātyāyana* there is only the difference of dialects, was the author of a Pali (*Prākṛit*) Grammar. *Vararuchi* was, moreover, the writer of the *Prākṛit Prakāsa*. Things which are equal to the same thing, are equal to each

\* Quoted in the Appendix (p. 382) to Remusat’s translation of the “*Foe Koue Ki* ou Relation des royaumes Bouddhiques.” See also M. Julien’s *Hist: de la vie de Hsuen Thsang*, p.p. 102, 165.

† The common date of the *Nirvana* of Buddha is B. C. 543; but *Hsuan Thsang* (as quoted in a note to p. 237) gives several different dates as current in India in his time, the latest of which is about B. C. 360.

‡ See Turnour’s “*Mahawansa*”, Introd: p.p. 25—27.

other. *Therefore*, Vararuchi was Kàtyàyana ;—Kàtyàyana, Kachchàyana ;—and Kachchàyana, Vararuchi. Therefore, the Pali Grammarian and the Prākṛit writer were identical !

This reasoning is certainly inadmissible. Identity of names does not prove identity of persons.\* It is possible to point out from History several Kàtyàyanas, and as many Vararuchi's. They are, like *Kaliddsa* and *Kāśyapa* in India, or, as *Smith* in England, common names. We have no better authority than the idle tale of a *Vrihat Kathà*, which abounds with the "marvellous,"† to prove that Kàtyàyana was called Vararuchi ; and, even admitting for the sake of argument, and upon the authority of the *Kathà Sàrit Sāgara*, and Hema-chandra, that such was the fact ; it is remarkable that, when people speak of the author of the Vārttikās, they generally name him Kàtyàyana—not Vararuchi ; and that when they allude to the writer of the Prākṛit *Prakāsa* they call him Vararuchi, not Kàtyàyana—shewing that they were two different men. There is indeed no tenable evidence of the identity between Panini's Commentator, and the author of the *Prākṛit Prakāsa* ; none, indeed, to shew that the latter was the same individual that wrote the Pali Grammar.

The internal evidence, however, contained in the *Pali* and *Prākṛit* Grammars, satisfactorily proves that they were written by two different men, and at comparatively two remote times from each other.

Kachchàyana was a Buddhist, not only upon the authority of the Rūpasiddhi, but the testimony which confirms it, viz. the internal evidence of the fact in the Pali Grammar. Kachchàyana opens his work with a salutation to "Buddha of infinite knowledge," whereas Vararuchi, I believe it will be admitted, was of the Brahman faith. This is not all. There

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\* Professor Goldstucker says in his work on the Age of Panini: "In general sameness of names, like that of Kātyāyana, can never prove the identity of persons, [who bore them] ; there is nothing proved by it, except that both belonged to the same family, or ('resp.') were followers of the same School, the Kātas,"—p.p. 187-8.

† Vide extract from Dandialankara, *infra*.



is no correspondence whatever in either arrangement, sentiments, or words, between the two works. According to Professor Lassen (Inst : § 6.) "Each (of the six dialects, of which the Prākṛit Grammarians treat) "descends by one degree of purity below the preceding one, so that the last is more remote than any of the former, from the common source." In this view of the case, the *Māgadhi* takes a third place in the list of "scenic dialects." Yet it is a well established fact, even in the opinion of M.M. Burnouf and Lassen, (Essai sur le Pali, p.p. 138 ff.) that "when the Pali (*Māgadhi*) as a derivative from the Sanskrit, is compared with other dialects, which have the same origin, it is found to approach far more closely than any of those others to that common source. It stands, so to speak, on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanskrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language." This discrepancy, therefore fully proves that Vararuchi treats of *Prākṛit* dialects, especially the *Māgadhi*, of an age much later, as the language shews,\* than the text-books of Buddhism. His grammatical rules of the principal Prākṛit, which Lessen denominates the *Dialectus Præcipua*\*, are designed for a modified form of the Pali—after it found a retreat in Ceylon, and degenerated from the form in which we find it in Kachchāyana, and Dhammapāda, and before it assumed the shape of the present Mahārāshtrī. This I shall endeavour to shew hereafter. Suffice it however to state here that the Prākṛit-*Māgadhi* of Vararuchi is different from the Pali, and from every dialect which is supposed to have risen from it.

It would thus appear, that the author of the Prākṛit *Prakāsa*, and Kachchāyana, were different persons; and, upon the evidence of religion, it may be inferred, that the latter was also different from the Brahman sage of the Pānīya-*Varttikas*.

In view, however, of the correspondence between Pā-

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\* See comparative Tables, *infra*.

nini's Sanskrit Grammar, and Kachchàyana's Pali work—a correspondence which is not limited to one or two stray instances, but found in different chains of *Sûtras*, and which may be detected not merely from the similarity of thoughts, but from the sameness of language—it may be inquired which of these works was prior in point of time?

This question may be considered in two different points of view; 1st, whether Kachchàyana availed himself of the same Grammarians to whom Pànini himself was indebted? or, 2ndly, whether the Sanskrit author, whose grammatical terminology the Pali writer chiefly adopted, was Panini?

So far as my researches have extended, and they are indeed very limited, the only circumstance which favors the first hypothesis is, that some of the technical terms in Kachchàyana, *e. g.*, *Panchamì* and *Sattamì*, for the 'Benedictive' and 'Potential' moods, which are not found as a *fifth* and a *seventh* division of the verb, are different from the names given to the same by Pànini. The *Balàvatàra* explains (panchamì sattamì tyayan pubb'àchariya saññà) that '*Panchamì* and *Sattamì* are the appellations of former teachers'; and the *Mahà Sadda Nīti* states, that these appellations are in accordance with Sanskrit Grammars, such as the *Kàtantra*,\* a comparatively modern Grammar, as stated by Colebrooke. These statements however are of no value. The expressions "former teachers" and "the Grammars *such as the Kàtantra*" are too vague and indefinite. Upon their basis no conclusions can be drawn. By "former teachers" we may fairly infer those who lived before Kachchàyana, or before Pànini; and who can say that they did not likewise adopt the same appellations which "such Grammars as the *Kàtantra*" use in regard to the *Benedictive* and *Potential* moods? It is indeed probable that Pànini, like Kachchàyana, adopted certain, and rejected certain other, technical terms, &c., of former Grammarians. My acquaintance with the Sanskrit literature is far

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\* I have not been able to procure a copy of this, for the purpose of comparison.

too limited to draw any further inferences. But all circumstances considered (to some of which I shall hereafter refer), I cannot refrain from the conviction that Kachchayana had Pāṇini before him when he composed the Sandhikappa. If such were the fact, should not the Sanskrit Grammarian be placed before the Buddhist era ?

This question, as indeed every matter relating to Asiatic History and Chronology, is one of considerable difficulty ; and I must most distinctly disclaim the slightest pretention to give any definite proof on the particular question, especially when I find such eminent Sanskrit scholars, as Wilson, Bohtling, Weber, and Max Muller, have failed to do so. All I desire however, in view of the evidence which the Pali Grammar reveals, and the historical incidents which the Pali Buddhist annals disclose, is to attract public attention to a few inferences and deductions which may be drawn from them, and which do not precisely accord with the views expressed by the learned scholars abovenamed.

Experience has proved, that whatever weight might be attached to facts stated in Brahmanical works, no reliance could be placed upon their chronological calculations. All that may be depended upon to a certain extent are their popular traditions, when supported by the testimony of other, especially the *Buddhist*, nations. The popular tradition then, as to the age of *Pāṇini*, which is current not only among the Brahmans of India, but among the Buddhists of Ceylon, is exactly what is stated by Colebrooke in the following passage.

“ Pāṇini, the Father of *Sanskrit* Grammar, lived in so remote an age, that he ranks amongst those *ancient* sages, whose fabulous history occupies a conspicuous place in the *Purāṇas* or Indian Theogonies. The name is a patronymic indicating his descent from *Panin*, but according to the *Paurāṇica* legends, he was grandson of Devala, an inspired legislator.”\*

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\* Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays. Vol. ii. p. 4.

Against this popular belief, several writers have quoted the passage wherein Pāṇini mentions *Yavanāni* as a name of a *lipi*, or writing, "the alphabet of the *Yavanas*." The inference sought to be deduced, viz., that the *Yavanas*, who were a "head-shaving race"\* were *Ionians*, or *Bactrian Greeks*, who could only have been known in Asia after the invasion of Alexander the Great,† is indeed unfounded.

Few subjects in the history of the East, are capable of more satisfactory proof than that the *Yavanas* or *Yonas* had been known before Gotama Buddha.

The identification of *Yavanas* with Mohammedans, is also open, in the opinion of Professor Wilson, to the objection that the former are mentioned in works prior to the Mohammedan era.‡

In one of Asoka's inscriptions, the Girnar, *Antiochus* is called the *Yōna rāja*, 'the king of the *Yonas*.' The *Milindappanna* speaks of *Milinda* as a *Yona* king. Whether he be identical with *Meneander*, and the *Yonaka* country with *Euthydemia*§ remains to be proved. From the following extracts, however, we glean the facts; that *Milinda* was born at *Kalasi* in *Alasadda*, 200 *Yojanas* from *Sāgal*; and that *Sāgal* was only twelve *Yojanas* from *Cashmir*.

Rājā āha bhante Nāgasena yo idha kāla kato Brahma loke uppajjeyya yocha idha kāla kato Kasmīre uppajjeyya kochira taran ko sīga taran'ti. Samakan Mahā rājā'ti. Opamman karohi'ti—kuhinpana Mahā rāja tava jāta nagaranti—At thigāmo bhante *Kalasi* gāmo nāma yatthāhan jāto'ti—Kīva dūro Mahā rāja ito *Kalasi* gāmo hotīti—Dumattāni bhante *yojana* satānīti—kīva dūran mahā rājā ito Kasmīran hotīti—Dvedasa bhante *yojanānīti*—Ingha tvan mahā rājā *Kalasi*gāman chintehīti—Chintito bhanteti—Ingha tvan Mahā rāja

\* "Sagara made the *Yavanas* shave their heads."—*Vishnu Purana*, iv, 3.

† See Pr. Benfey's Article on India.

‡ Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, II, p. 179.

§ Vide Wilson's *Ariana*, p. 230.

Kasmíran chintehíti—Chintitan bhanteti—Kataman nukho mahà ràja chirena chintitan kataman sīgataranti—samakan bhanteti. Eva mevako mahà ràja yo idha kàla kato Brah maloke uppajjeyya yocha idha kàla kato Kasmíre uppajjeyya samakan yeva uppajjantīti.

“The king said, Lord Nàgasena (suppose) one who dies here (Sàgal) is born in the Brahma world; and another who dies here is born in Kashmir: which of them is born sooner, and which of them later? *Priest*—Monarch, at the same time? *King*—Give an illustration. *Priest*—Monarch, which is the City of thy birth? *King*—Lord, I was born in a place which is called *Kalasi gāma*. *Priest*—Monarch, how far is *Kalasi gāma* from hence? *King*—Lord, about 200 yojanas. *Priest*—Monarch, how far is Kashmir from hence? *King*—Lord, Twelve yojanas. *Priest*—Monarch, think quickly of *Kalasi gāma*. *King*—Lord, I have thought. *Priest*—Monarch, think quickly of *Kasmir*. *King*—Lord, I have. *Priest*—Which of them, Monarch, hast thou taken shorter time to think, and which of them longer? *King*—Lord, equal time. *Priest*—So likewise, Monarch, he who dies here, and is born in the *Brahma loka*; and he who dies here, and is born in Kashmir, are both born at the same (period of) time.”

Again:—Thero àhakuhin pana mahà ràja tava jàta bhú-mìti’—‘Atthi bhante *Alasando* nàma dípo tatthàhan jàtoti’—‘kíva dúro mahà ràja ito *Alasando* hótiti’—‘dumattàni bhantè yojana satà niti.’

“The Priest asked, Monarch, where is the land of thy birth? Oh! Lord, there is an island named *Alasanda*. I was born there. Monarch, how far is *Alasanda* from hence (Sàgala)?—Lord, about two hundred yojanas”

In the following passage Isiodorus mentions *Sàgal* and Alexandria in the same sentence—*et Sigal urbs, ubi regia Sacarum, propeque Alexandria urbs et non procul Alexandriapolis urbs*. From the Mahawansa, moreover, we learn that *Alasadda* was the Capital of the Yona country. The

mention of *dīpo* in reference to Alasanda, in one of the above extracts, presents no valid objection against its identification with Alexandria ; for Pali writers, and Buddhists in general, like the ancient Greeks, had a very vague notion of the Geographical position of countries.

Perhaps the *Milindappanna*, as well as the Inscriptions do, not furnish conclusive proofs on the subject ; since they were clearly *after* the date of *Asoka*, who is expressly mentioned therein. Nor indeed are the *Nāṭakas* of much value, for the same reason. But the same objection does not apply to *Manu*, or the *Mahā Bhārata*, in both which ancient works the *Yavanas* are mentioned.

Manu states\* that the following tribes were originally Kshatriyas, but have gradually sunk to the state of Vrishalas (Sudras), from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no communication with Brahmans ; viz. Paundrakas, Odras, Dravidas, Kāmbojas, *Yavanas*, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khasas.

“ These tribes of Kshatriyas, viz., Sakas, *Yavanas*, Kāmbojas, Dravidas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Uśīnaras, Kolisarpas, and Mahishakas, have become Sudras from seeing no Brahmans.”†

The facts contained in the above extracts are supported in the Buddhistical annals ; and in quoting therefrom it becomes my privilege to adduce the authority to which Mr. Turnour referred, but which he failed to adduce, to prove that ‘Yavana (yóna) is mentioned anterior to Alexander’s invasions in the ancient Pali works’‡ Whether the Buddhist Pitakattāya was written after the death of the Sage, or before (and that it was at the period of the Buddhist era is also capable of satisfactory proof), Gotama, whose age is firmly established, has spoken of the *Yavanas* ; and in special reference to the distinction of *Aryas* and *dāsya*s, which was recognized in

\* Chapter x. 43. 44.

† Anusasana Parva, verses 2103 et seq.

‡ See Turnour’s Introd. to Mahavansa, xl, vi.

the pachchanta (foreign) countries such as Yona and Kamboja.

In the *Majjhima Nikàya*, from which I shall again quote, Gotama is said to have asked :

Tankin maññasi Assalàyana ? suttante 'Yona Kambojesu aññesu cha pachchante mesu janapadesu vevannā ayyocheva dāso cha hòti—ayyo hutvā dāsohoti, dāsohutvā ayyohotì'ti.

'Assalàyana, what thinkest thou of *this*? Hast thou heard, that in *Yona* and *Kamboja*, and in other foreign countries, there are various ayyas\* (superiors) and dāsas (inferiors); that superiors become inferiors, and inferiors superiors'?

It is said in the commentary that the above was said to illustrate (such a case as) this :

Bràhmano sabhariyo vanijjan payo jento Yonaka ratthan vā Kamboja rattan vā gantvā kàlankaroti,—tassa gehe vayappatto dāso hoti; Bràhmanì dāsenavā kammakāre navā saddhin vāsankappeti; etasmin dārake jàte so puriso dāsova hoti; tassa jàta dārako para dāyajja sāmiko hotimatito suddho pitito asuddho—so vanijjan payojento majjhima padesan gantvā bràhmana dārikan gahetvā; tassā puchchismin puttā patilabhati, sopi mātītova suddho hoti pitito asuddho. Evan Bràhmana samayasmin yeva jātisambhedo hoti—ti dassanattan etan vuttan.

'A Brahman, provided with merchandize, having gone with his wife either to the country of Kamboja, or the country of Yona, dies. There is a grown up *dāsa* or laborer in his house. The Brahmanì lives either with the *dāsa* or the laborer, and begets a child for him;—that person is still a *dāsa*. The child that is born for him, who is pure as regards the mother, and impure as regards the father, becomes the lord of the inheritance. He (too), provided with merchandize, goes to the Majjhima region, and takes to him a Brahman lass. She too gets a son, who is pure only on the mother's side, but impure on that of the

\* For the Brahmanical definition of this word as well as *dasa*; See. Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts ii. pp. 379, 380.

father. Thus according to the very observances of the Brahamans there is a distinction of tribes.'

Whilst the authority above quoted satisfactorily explains the reason why, as in *the Hero and the Nymph*, Kālidāsa has applied the term *Yavana* to *menial females*; it also establishes the fact that the *Yavanas* were ante Buddhistical.

It has also been stated by Professor Max Muller that since *Pāṇini* refers to the *Unnādi-sūtras*, which mention *dindrah* 'the Roman *denarius*', *Jinah* 'synonymous with Arhat a Buddhist saint', *tirītam* 'a golden diadem', *stūpah* 'the Buddhist topes'; the Sanskrit Grammarian was *after* Buddha.\* The learned Professor himself has rendered it very probable that all these words were introduced into the *Unnādisūtras* 'after the general spreading of Buddhism, and the erection of Topes in India.' This was, however, upon the supposition that the *Unnādi sūtras*, which are now extant, were identical with the *Sūtras* of the same name quoted by *Pāṇini*. But, the proof is indeed wanting to show that such was the fact; and the non-existence of the many Grammatical works to which *Pāṇini* refers, and the anxiety evinced by the Brahmans to place that sage as *Pāṇinyādyah*, may fairly lead to the inference that all those works, including the particular *Unnādi sūtras* referred to by *Pāṇini*, had been long ago lost.†

Since these sheets have gone to the press, and the two first sheets have been printed, I have received from England the invaluable work of Professor Goldstucker on the age of *Pāṇini*; and I here avail myself of that consummate scholar's remarks on the *Unnādi Sūtras*, which directly bear upon the subject.

'It is true (says he) that this grammarian (*Pāṇini*) speaks twice of *Unnādis*, but he *never* speaks of *Unnādi-Sūtras*.

\* Sankrit Literature p. 245.

† 'None of the more ancient works seem to be now extant'—Colcbrooke's Essays ii. pp. 5, 6.



The former term merely implies a list of Unnàdi affixes, and may imply, according to analogous expressions in Pāṇini, a list of words formed with these affixes ; but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the Unnàdi Sūtras which we are speaking of. Between a list of Unnàdis—affixes or words—and Unnàdi-Sūtras, there is all the difference which exists between a lexicographical and a grammatical work. All the conclusions, therefore, which are based on the identity of both, vanish at once—p. 159.

Again, says the same writer : ' Had Pāṇini not written the five Sūtras (1, 2, 53-57) in which he explains the method of his grammar, or had he explained all the technical terms used by him, the absence of a definition of such terms in the Unnàdi-Sūtras would not justify us in arriving at any conclusion as regards the mutual relation of the two works. But since we know that Pāṇini does not define all his terms ; and, on the other hand, that a treatise like the Unnàdi-Sūtras uses those terms which are defined by him, and *exactly in the same sense in which they occur in his work*, the only possible conclusion is that this treatise was written later than the Grammar of Pāṇini.'—p. 170.

I have examined the Unnàdi-Sūtras with the assistance of my Pandit ; but have not been able to find any correspondence between them and the *Unnàdi* in Kachchāyana's grammar—a circumstance which favors my belief that the former work was also later than, the Pali grammar. This therefore accounts for the mention of ' the Roman *denarius*'\* and ' the Buddhist *sthāpa*' and ' *Jina*, the founder of a Buddha sect' &c. ; although the two last, I may remark, had an origin before the age of Gōtama, as may be shewn from the sermons of that sage himself.

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\* Indeed this word like the others, has claims to a higher antiquity than the age of Gotama. See *Dena* in Pr. H. Wilson's Glossary of Judicial Terms.

M. Reinaud in his 'Mémoire Géographique, Historique et Scientifique Sur l'Inde &c. (Paris 1849) says.

'*Hiouen Thsang* attributes to Pāṇini, as he does to many other notable personages of Buddhism, two existences; the first he refers to an epoch in which the life of man was longer than at present, and the second about the year 500 after the death of Buddha; that is, in the time of Vikramaditya, a century after the reign of Kaniska. In his first existence, Pāṇini professed Brahmanism; but in his second, he, together with his father, was converted to Buddhism.'—p. 88.

Founded upon this "Ghost-story", it has also been supposed by Professor Weber that Pāṇini should be placed six centuries after Gotama Buddha, or at 140 A.D.\* But the legendary tale which *Hiouen Thsang* relates, and which is quoted below, far from countenancing this conjecture, merely places him, "at the epoch when the life of man was reduced to a hundred years." This need not necessarily have been, as we again ascertain from the Buddhistical annals, after Gotama Buddha. It is stated in the *Buddhavansa* that.

'At the particular period (of the manifestation of the great elect) the term of human existence was one hundred years; and that it therefore appeared to be the proper age in which his advent should take place.'

This subject may therefore be dismissed by simply subjoining the following translation† of the passages referred to in *Hiouen Thsang* :—

'Having travelled about twenty *li* north-east of the town, *Ou-to-kia han t'cha* (Udakhāṇḍa?) he arrived at the city *Po-lo-tou-lo* (Sālātura), the birth place of *Rishi Po-ni-ni* (Pāṇini) author of the treatise *Ching-ming lun* (Vyākaranam.)

'During the times of a remote antiquity, the words of the language were extremely numerous; but after the world had

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\* See Professor Max Muller's remarks hereon in his Sanskrit Literature p. 304 et seq.

† For which as well as various other passages from French and German writers my acknowledgements are due to my Teacher J. R. Blake Esq,

been destroyed, the universe was found void and waste. Some Gods of an extraordinary longevity descended on the earth to serve as guides to the nations. Such was the origin of letters and books. At the conclusion of this epoch their source enlarged itself, and became boundless. The god Fan (Brahman), and the king of heaven (Indra) established rules and conformed to the times. Some heretic Rishis composed, each of them, some words. Men used them as models, carried on their work, and rivalled with each other in preserving tradition; but students made vain efforts, and it was difficult for them to comprehend their meaning.

‘At the epoch when the life of man was reduced to a hundred years, the *Rishi Pánini* appeared, who received instruction from his birth, and possessed an immense understanding. Grieved at the ignorance of the age, he longed to abolish all vague and false conceptions, to extricate language from superfluous terms, and to establish its laws. As he was travelling for the purpose of research and instruction, he met the God *Tseu thsai* (Isvara Deva), and set before him the plan of the work he was meditating.

‘Very well said the god *Tseu-thsai* (Isvara Deva) you may reckon on my assistance.

‘Having received his instructions the Rishi departed. He then gave himself up to profound researches, and employed all the energy of his intellect. He collected a multitude of expressions, and composed a vocabulary which contained a thousand slokas; each sloka consisted of thirty-two syllables. He sounded to their utmost limits, knowledge both ancient and modern; and having brought together, in this work, letters and terms, he enclosed it in a sealed envelope, and presented it to the king, who equally prized and admired it. He made a decree, which ordered all his subjects to study and teach it. He added that he, who should be able to recite it from one end to the other, would receive a reward of a thousand pieces of gold. Hence the reason, (thanks to the lessons of successive teachers) that this work

is still held in great estimation. Hence it is that the Brahmans of this city possess substantial knowledge, and talents of a high order, and are always distinguished by the extent of their knowledge, and the rich stores of their memory.

‘In the city of *Po-lo-tou-lo* (read *So-lo-tou-lo*, Sâlâtura) there is a *Stûpa*. It was in this place that a *Lo-han* (an *Arhat*) converted a disciple of *Ponini*. Five hundred years after is *Jou-lai* (the Tathâgata) had left the world, there was a great *Olohan* (*Arhat*) who, coming from the kingdom of *Kia-chi-milo* (Cashmire) travelled for the purpose of converting people. When he had arrived in this country, he saw a *Fan-tchi* (a *Brahmachârin*) occupied in whipping a little boy, whom he was teaching. “Why do you ill-treat that child?” said the *Arhat* to the *Fan-tchi*.

‘I am making him study,’ replied he, ‘the treatise of the doctrine of sounds, (*ching-ming Vyâkaranam*) but he makes no progress.’

‘The *Arhat* seemed amused, and suffered a smile to escape him. The old *Fan-tchi* said to him, “The *Cha-men* (*sramanas*) possess a tender and compassionate heart, and they pity the creatures that are enduring pain. A man full of humanity smiles upon occasion. I should wish to learn the cause.

‘It is not difficult to make you acquainted with it, replied the *Arhat*, but I fear I shall produce in you a hesitancy of belief. You have, doubtless, heard of a certain *Rishi* named *Ponini*, who composed the treatise *ching-ming-lun*, and that he has left it behind for the instruction of the world. The *Po-lo-men* said to him—The children of this city who are all his disciples, revere his virtue, and the statue, erected to his memory, exists at this day.

‘Well said the *Arhat*, this child, to whom you gave life, is actually that *Rishi*. In his former existence, he used his strong memory in studying profane writings: he did not speak, but of heretical treatises, and did not seek at all the truth. His genius and his science perished; and he coursed

though, without stopping, the circle of life, and of death. Thanks to a remnant of virtue, he has been permitted to become your dear son. But profane writings, and the eloquence of the age only impose a useless labour. Can they be compared to the sacred instructions of *Jou-lai* which, by a mysterious influence, affords understanding and happiness. ?

‘In former times, there was, on the shores of the Southern Ocean, a withered tree whose hollow trunk afforded an asylum to five hundred bats. One day, some merchants halted at the foot of this tree. As there prevailed at the time an icy cold breeze, these men, who were tormented with cold and hunger, collected together sticks and thorns, and lighted a fire at the foot of the tree. The flame increased by degrees, and soon set the withered tree on fire.

‘At this moment there was one of the merchants who began, at mid night, to read with a loud voice, the collection of the *O-pi-ta-mo* (Abhidharma.) The bats, tormented as they were by the heat of the fire, listened however, with desire to the accents of the law, endured the pain without quitting their retreat, and there terminated their existence. In consequence of this virtuous conduct, they obtained the honor of being born again in the class of human beings. They left their families, gave themselves up to study, and, thanks to the sounds of the law which they had formerly heard, they acquired a rare understanding, obtained altogether the dignity of Arhat, and cultivated from age to age, the field of happiness.

‘During this latter period the king *Kia-ni-se-kia* (Kanish’ka) and the Honorable *Hie* (Arya-Parsvika) assembled five hundred sages in the kingdom of *Kia-chi-mi-lo* (Cashmire) and composed the *Pi-po-cha-lun* (the Vibhášha sástra). All these sages were the five hundred bats who had formerly inhabited the cavity of the withered tree. Although I possess a limited intelligence, yet I am one of them. But, men differ from one another, either by the superiority, or mediocrity of their genius. Those essay their flight, while these creep in ob-

scurity. And now, O man full of humanity, you must allow your dear son to leave his friends. In performing this act, that is, embracing the life of a religieuse, one acquires in effable merit.

‘Having finished his discourse, the Arhat gave proof of his divine power by his immediate disappearance.

‘The Bráhman felt himself penetrated by faith and reverence; and, having loudly expressed his admiration, went and related the event in the neighbourhood. He also permitted his son to embrace the life of a Religieuse, and devote himself to study. As for himself, he was immediately converted; and showed the greatest esteem for the *Three Gems*. The men of his village followed his example, and, even at this day, the inhabitants are confirmed in their faith, day by day.’

Professor Bohtlingh, in his introduction to Pánini, advances the following arguments founded, as it would seem, on nearly the same authorities as those already quoted.

‘As respects the age (he says) in which our Grammarian lived, I will produce some citations which will give some weight to the received opinion, that *Pánini* lived in the 4th Century, according to our chronology.

‘*Amara-Sinha*, the most ancient lexicographer whose work is extant, lived, as universally received, in the middle of the first centry after Christ. In his work, we meet with a multitude of grammatical expressions and affixes, which occur also in *Pánini*. From this circumstance alone, one should not venture to decide absolutely on the high antiquity of *Pánini*; for, as we have early enough remarked, *Pánini*’s grammatical terminology is easily discovered amongst his predecessors. By means of the following passages, however. I trust, I shall be authorized to draw a conclusion.

*Amara Kosha* (S 363, p I. and S. 378 12 and S 384 25 of Colebrook’s edition) It is said, that the word *Rātra* at the end of a compound, is masculine except when a numeral precedes; in this case it is a neuter.

According to Pāṇini (II 4. 29), *Rātra* at the end of a compound is always masculine; *Kātyāyana* also appears to maintain the rule unrestricted; compare with II. 4. 29—S. 363. Z. 4. (Colebrooke's) (S. 384. 26.) *Pathah Sank-vyavyayat parah* ("patha, on a numerable or an undeclinable word following, is at the end of a compound neuter.") Pāṇini (II, 4. 30.) allows only *Apatha* to be a neuter; *Kātyāyana* enlarges the rule, in the same manner as *Amara Sinha*; compare with II. 4. 30.—S. 368. Z. 4. (Colebr. 385. 15.) *Punayasudināmyò twahah parah*, "*Aha*, on *punaya* and *sudina* following, (is a neuter.)" With Pāṇini, *Aha*, at the end of every compound, is a neuter. Both opinions are given by Kātyāyana (compare with II. 4. 29.) The passage next following is most decidedly only half intelligible, without consulting our grammarian S. 374. Z. 3. (S. 393. 45. C.) *Anāghantāstetarak tāgharthe*. The derivatives in *An* &c. in the signification of "coloured thereby" &c. (are all of three genders.) *An* is the first affix in that division of grammar in which the *taddhitas* and their significations are treated of; compare IV. 1. 83. The first signification of these affixes, in the formation of adjectives, is *Tenaraktan*; compare IV. 2. 1.

'It is indeed, by no means proved hereby that Pāṇini lived three centuries before *Amara Sinha*. But then this opinion will acquire probability, when it is stated that *Amara Sinha* is still more recent than *Patangali*. In this case we shall still have, between Pāṇini and *Amara Sinha*, four Grammarians; Kātyāyana, the author of the *Paribāshā*, the author of the *Karika*, and *Patangali*.

'Tradition makes *Bhartrihari* the brother of *Vickramaditya*, the author of the *Karika*. Were this point settled, *Patangali* would be at most a contemporary of *Amara Sinha's*. This tradition is contradicted by another; according to which *Patangali* is removed to a high antiquity, and constituted a mythological being in the shape of a Serpent. We shall not, however, take our refuge, by proving the worthlessness of one story by means of another, whilst we have at our

command an historical testimony in the annals of *Kashmere*. The passage contains a grammatical difficulty, which may however, be removed by a small alteration. The verse is expressed in the Calcutta edition as follows (1. 176.)

Chandrâcharyâdibhirlabdhâdesan tasmât tadâgaman.

Pravartitan sahabhashyan svan cha vyākaranan krit.

‘Troyer (in his recent edition of this chronicle, *Rājatarīnginī*) reads *Chandra vyākaranam* for *svan cha vyākaranam*, and translates “Tchandrâtcharya and others after receiving the commands, explained his (the king Abhimanyu’s) *Sāstra*, and composed a large commentary and a grammar bearing the name of Chandra.” Seeing, for ought that I know, that nothing is said any where about Abhimanyu’s having composed a *Sāstra*, the word *pravartitan* can have no grammatical reference to *tadâgaman*; for this word is of necessity a masculine. To join *tadâgaman* as an adjective to *labdhâdesan*, and to render it “to come thither (to Abhimanyupura) or to him according to the command received by him” would be too forced. We read *labdhvâdesan*; then can *tadâgaman* be easily united with *Adesan*. Professor Herr Lassen, whom I consulted on this passage, proposed to me to read *tadâgame* by which the difficulty would be removed. “The causal from *pravart* has here, assuredly, no other signification than ‘to set up a thing, to introduce a matter.’” The full sense of the verses will accordingly be the following: “when the teacher Kandra and others had received the command from him, (the king Abhimanyu) thither, (or to him) to repair, they produced the *Mahabhashya* and composed an accurate grammar.” To corroborate this translation I put down here a quite similar passage from the same work (IV. 487.)

Desântarâdâgamayya vyâchakshanân kshamâpatih.

Pravartayata vichchinnan mahabashyan svamandale.

“After the king (Gayâpida,) had brought in expositors from other lands, he introduced into his land the worn-out (no longer extant in a perfect condition?) *Mahabhashya* again.” M. Troyer renders *vichchinnan Mahabashyan* by “the large well divided grammar,” and remarks in a parenthe-



sis, that this is *Pāṇini's* Grammar. In the first verse that learned man has translated *Mahabhāṣya* quite commonly "a large commentary," as I conjecture, from this ground that it appeared to him improbable that the study of grammar was pursued already in the twelfth century according to our reckoning. (M. Troyer maintains strongly the chronology of the Cashmirian chronicle.) From this can we explain only his remarks on every passage: "The titles of the books *vyākṛāṇa*, and *Upadēśa*, appear amongst the Buddhists, to be equivalent to those of the "*purāṇas*" and "tantras" (See the Memoir of Mr. Hodgson in the Transactions of the Rl. As. Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol II. parts I. and II.

'*Kandra*' occurs in a memorial verse in union with the following ancient grammarians. *Indra*, *Kasakritsna*, *Apisali*, *Sākatāyana*, *Pāṇini*, *Amara*, and *Ginendra*. *Bhattogi* mentions him and his followers, the *Kandras*, often.

'The age of the king *Abhimanyu*, in whose reign *Kandra* lived, may be fixed in several ways, all of which lead to the same result. Under *Abhimanyu*, there appeared in Cashmere, the *Bodhisatva Nagārjuna*, whose birth the Tibetans place 400 years after Buddha's death, therefore in the year 143 or 144 before Christ. His preaching as well as the reign of *Abhimanyu* may be accordingly fixed for the year 100. We maintain the same number, when we adhere to the chronicle of Cashmere. *Asoka*, the forty-eighth king of the second period is, without doubt, the grandson of *Kandragupta*. *Asoka* is removed from his grandfather forty-nine or sixty-two years; the beginning of his reign will fall in the year 250 before Christ. Five kings, according to the annals of Cashmere, divide *Asoka* from *Abhimanyu*. Let us allow each of them as well as *Asoka*, to reign on an average twenty-five years; we then have the wished for number of years for *Abhimanyu*. We arrive close to the same result when we follow the Chinese narrative. This narrative places *Kanishka* the last of the Turushka princes, and the direct predecessor of *Abhimanyu* 400 years after Buddha's death, that is, in

the year 143—144 after Christ. Now, since we have discovered, that *Patangali's Mahabhashya* through *Kandra* in Cashmere, already in the year 100 before Christ, came into general use, we are fully authorized to put back the composition of the great commentary on *Pāṇini's Sūtras* to the year 150. Between *Patangali* and *Pāṇini*, there are, as we have remarked above, three Grammarians known to us who furnish us with contributions to *Pāṇini's* grammar. We need accordingly to place the interval between merely two or fifty years, to reach the year 350, in which, according to *Kathā-saritsāgara*, our Grammarian is to be placed.\*

Professor Max Muller in reviewing the above arguments says Professor Bohtlingk “endeavored to shew that the great commentary of Patanjali, which embraces both the Varttikās of Kātyāyana, and the sūtras of Pāṇini, was known in the middle of the second century B. C. It is said in the history of Kashmir, that Abhimanyu, the king of Kashmir, sent for Brahmans to teach the Mahābhāṣya in his kingdom. Abhimanyu, it is true, did not reign, as Professor Bohtlingk supposed, in the second century B. C., but, as has been proved from coins, by Professor Lassen, in the first century A. D. But even thus this argument is important. In the history of Indian literature, dates are mostly so precarious, that a confirmation even within a century or two, is not to be despised. The fact that *Patanjali's* immense commentary on *Pāṇini* and Kātyāyana had become so famous as to be imported by royal authority into Kashmir in the first half of the first century, A. D., shews at least, that we cannot be very far wrong in placing the composition of the original grammar and of the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana on the threshold of the third century B. C. At what time the Mahā-

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\* Introduction to Panini by Bohtlingk—See contra by Weber in his Introduction.

bhāṣhya was first composed it is impossible to say.\* Patanjali, the author of the great commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala; and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pāṇini, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāṣhya belonged to the third century. But the identity of Pingala and Patanjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations.†

All these arguments Professor Max Muller characterizes as "entirely hypothetical." Indeed they are; and the reader cannot fail to perceive that though it is quite correct to fix the date of Pāṇini at some time before *Amarasinha*, yet

\* The following observations have an important bearing upon the question :—

‘ This is the only date, the fixing of which is called “impossible,” in Muller’s Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and as it has hitherto been my fate to differ from this work in all its chronological views, I seem merely to follow a predestined necessity in looking upon the date of Patanjali as the only one which I should venture to determine with anything like certainty.

‘ I do so, because Patanjali, as if foreseeing the conjectural date which some future Pandit would attach to his life, or the doubt that might lift him out of all historical reach, once took the opportunity of stating a period before which we must not imagine him to have lived, while on another occasion he mentions the time when he actually did live.

‘ “If a thing,” says Panini, “serves for a livelihood, but is not for sale” (it has not the affix *ka*). This rule Patanjali illustrates with the words “Siva, Skanda, Visakha,” meaning the idols that represent these divinities and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them,—while they are not for sale. And, “why?” he asks. “The *Mauryas* wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities. Good; (Panini’s rule) may apply to such (idols, as *they* sold); but as to idols which are hawked about (by common people) for the sake of such worship as brings an immediate profit, their names will have the affix *ka*.”

‘ Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patanjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which *they* sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made—as poor people do,—I know not. But, at all events, he tells us distinctly by these words that he did not live before the first king of the Maurya dynasty who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B. C. And I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words, that he tells us, on the contrary, that he lived *after the last king* of this dynasty, or in other words later than 180 before Christ. But he has even been good enough to relieve us from a possibility of this doubt when commenting on another rule of Panini, or rather on a criticism attached to it by Katayana.—*Goldstucker’s “Panini”* p.p. 228—9.

† Professor Max Muller’s Sanskrit Literature p. 240.

no valid ground has been shewn to determine *that* as having been *after* the Buddhistical era.

A fact, however, may be here cited from the Buddhistical annals, which apparently countenances the conjecture of Professor Max Muller. It is this; that *Dévala* is mentioned as a contemporary of Gotama.

The *Atthakathā* to the Buddhavansa after alluding to the birth of *Siddhatta* before he became *Gotama-Buddha* says:— ‘At that period a certain *tāpaso*, named *Kāladewalo*, who was a confidant of the *māharāja* *Suddhodano*, and who had acquired the eight *samāpatti*, having taken his meal,—for the purpose of enjoying his noonday rest,—repaired to the *Tāvātinsā* realms. He there found the host of *dewatā*, in the *Tāvātinsā* realms, revelling in joy, and in the exuberance of their felicity, waving cloths over their heads, and asked, ‘Why is it that ye thus rejoice, in the fulness of the heart’s delight? Tell me the cause thereof?’ The *dewatā* thus replied, ‘Blessed! unto the *rāja* a son is born, who seated at the foot of the bo tree, having become *Buddho*, will establish the supremacy of *dhammo*: and we shall be blessed with the sight of the many attributes of his *Buddhohood*, and with the hearing of his *dhammo*. It is from this cause that we rejoice.’

‘Thereupon the said *Dewala* the *tāpaso*, on hearing this announcement of theirs, descending from the supreme *Dewalōka* enchanting with its golden glitter; and entering the palace of the monarch *Suddhodana*, seated himself on the pre-eminent throne erected therein. He then thus addressed the *rāja* who had accorded to him a gracious reception. ‘*Rāja* to thee a son is born: him I will see.’ The *rāja* caused the infant, richly clad, to be brought, in order that he (the infant) might do homage to the *tāpaso*, *Dévalo*. The feet of the great elect, at that instant performing an evolution, planted themselves on the *jatā* (top-knot of *Devalo*) which glittered, from its hoariness, like unto the fleecy white cloud impregnated with rain. There being no one greater to whom reverence is due than to a *Buddho* elect, who had at-

tained the last stage of existence,—instantly rising from the throne on which he was seated, (*Dewalo*) bowed down with his clasped hands raised over his head, to the Buddhho elect; and the Ràja also, on witnessing this miraculous result, likewise bowed down to his own son.

'The *tàpaso* having perceived the perfection of the immortal attributes of the elect, was meditating whether he would or would not become the supreme Buddhho; and while thus meditating, he ascertained by his power of perception into futurity, he would certainly become so; and smiling said, 'This is the wonderful mortal.' He again thus meditated: 'am, I or am I not destined to behold his achievement of Buddhhood?' and said, 'No, I am not destined: dying in the interval, though a thousand *Buddhà* be henceforth manifested, it will not be vouchsafed to me to participate in such a blessing: I shall be regenerated in realms inhabited by incorporeal spirits: never shall I behold the wonderful mortal: a mighty calamity is impending over me.' Having thus divined, he wept.

'The bystanders remarking, 'our *ayyo* (revered teacher) having this moment smiled, has now commenced to weep,' inquired, 'Is there any misfortune impending over the infant of our ruler?' The *tàpaso* replied, 'unto him there is no impending calamity: beyond all doubt he is destined to become Buddhho.' 'Why dost thou then weep?' 'I am not destined to see so wonderful a mortal as this, on his attaining Buddhhood: most assuredly unto me this is an awful calamity. I weep in the bitterness of my own disappointment.'

If the Kàladèvala ascetic here mentioned 'who had acquired the eight samàpatti,' and Dèvala 'the inspired legislator' of the Hindu Pauranic legends were identical, we might indeed be warranted in placing Pànini, as 'the grandson of Dèvala,' in the third century B. C., or in the third century A. D. But, this is by no means satisfactorily proved. There is the same difference between their names as between Sàkatâyana and Kàtyâyana. The *Pauranic* legend is also contradicted by *Bhottagi*. Professor Bothlingk says: "Pànini is, according

to Dhott gi, a descendant of Pâninâ, who is either a *grandson*, or more remote descendant of Panin." Be this however, as it may. Without at all impugning the authenticity or genuineness of the Pali Atthakathâ to the Buddhawansa, it may be stated that the identification of these two persons involves us in this difficulty, viz. that to other well-known Hindu works and writers, whom Gotama unmistakably mentions, we must in that case, assign a post-Buddhistic date.

At the time Gotama appeared, the *Vedāngas* had been in existence. At the time the Vedāngas were composed, 'the period of inspiration,' according to Brahmans and even Buddhists, had long before ceased.\* Their authors too, claimed no inspiration for themselves. They merely rendered the study of "the revealed literature," easier. Devala, as an "inspired legislator" must therefore belong to a period before the *Vedānga* literature, and anterior to the appearance of Gotama Buddha. Hence the non-identity between *Devala* and *Kāla devala*.

If, again, Pānini lived two or three centuries after Buddha, we are sure to have in his sūtras, some allusion to the sage or his remarkable doctrines, which, as M. Burnouf says, 'found numerous recruits among those who were frightened by the difficulties of Brahmanical science' There is however no such allusion; and the word 'Stūpah,' if it were not a later introduction, means, 'not a Buddhist tope,' but simply 'a heap of earth,' as it is said to have been used in the Vedas.

To place Pānini *after* the Buddhist era (supposing that I have correctly fixed the age of Kachchāyana) is indeed to affirm that the proud Brahmans were indebted for their Grammatical principles to those who had seceded from their Church, and who were availing themselves of the Brahman literature; and at a time too, when Buddhism with the language in which it was promulgated, was fast disappearing in Hindustan. This is indeed so very improbable, especially in view of the fact expressly stated by Kachchāyana, that he had adopted

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\* Gotama himself says that long before his advent the Brahmans had fallen off from their high sanctity.

terms given by *Sanskrit* Grammarians ; that it may reasonably be concluded that Pānini was before Kaechāyana, and therefore before Gotama Buddha.

Professor Goldstucker says : ‘ Though Yāska be older than Pānini, and Pānini older than Kātyāyana, there still remains the mystery as to the era of Pānini. No work of the ancient literature, within my knowledge, gives us the means of penetrating it. But as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity which may be called a real date, is that of *Buddha's* death, it must be of interest to know whether Pānini is likely to have lived before or after this event.

‘ Not only is the name of *Sākyamuni*, or Sākya, never adverted to in the Sūtras of Pānini, but there is another fact connected with this name which is still more remarkable.

‘ The great schism which divided ancient India into two hostile creeds, centres in the notion which each entertained of the nature of eternal bliss. The Brahmanic Hindus hope that their souls will ultimately become united with the universal spirit ; which, in the language of the Upanishads, is the neuter Brahman ; and, in that of the sects, the supreme deity, who takes the place of this philosophical and impersonal god. And however indefinite this god Brahman may be, it is nevertheless, to the mind of the Brahmanic Hindu, an *entity*. The final salvation of a Buddhist is entire *non-entity*. This difference between the goal of both, created that deep and irreconcilable antagonism which allowed of none of the compromise which was possible between all the shades and degrees of the Brahmanic faith, from the most enlightened to the most degenerate. The various expressions for eternal bliss in the Brahmanic creed, like *apavarga*, *moksha*, *mukti*, *nihsreyasa*, all mean either “ liberation from this earthly career ” or the “ absolute good ; ” they therefore imply a condition of hope. The absolute end of a Buddhist is without hope ; it is *nirvāna*, or extinction.

This word means literally "*blown out*;" but there is this difference, if I am not mistaken, between its use in the Brahmanic and in the Buddhistic literature,—that, in the former, it is employed, like other past participles, in any of the three genders, whereas in the latter it occurs only in the neuter gender, and there, too, only in the sense of an abstract noun, in that of *extinction*, *i. e.*, absolute annihilation of the soul. I have no instance at my command in which *nirvāna*, when used in the classical literature, implies any other sense than the sense "*blown out*," or a sense immediately connected with it. Thus Patanjali, when illustrating the use of this past participle, gives the instances: "the fire is *blown out* by the wind, the lamp is *blown out* by the wind;" and Kaiyāyata who, on the same occasion, observes that a phrase, "the wind has ceased to blow," would not be expressed by "*nirvāno vātah*, but by *nirvāto vātah*," corroborates the instances of Patanjali with one of his own: "blowing out (has been effected) by the wind." But Pāṇini, who teaches the formation of this participle in rule VIII. 2, 50, which has indirectly called forth all these instances, says: "(the past participle of *vā* with prefix *nir* is) *nirvāna* (if the word means) '*free from wind*,' (or, '*not blowing, as wind*')."

'This is the natural interpretation of Pāṇini's rule. *Kātyāyana*, it is true, gives a Vārttika, which corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhidhāne* "(if it have) not the sense of wind (or of blowing);" yet it is very remarkable that Patanjali, in commenting on this Vārttika, does not interpret its words in his usual manner, but merely adds to them the instances I have just named; it is remarkable, too, that he introduces them with the observation: "(this Vārttika is given in order to show) that (*nirvāna*) is *also* or is emphatically used in the following instances." Still he has no instance whatever for the sense stated by Pāṇini, and his word "*also*" or "*emphatically*" does not appear to be justified by the criticism of Kātyāyana, which simply corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhidhāne* without any additional remark.



'In short, my opinion on this Vārttika is analogous to that which I have expressed in previous instances. The sense of *nirvāna*, "free from wind (or not blowing)," had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, who merely knew that sense of it which found its ulterior and special application in the *nirvāna* of the Buddhistic faith. But since there is no logical link between this latter word and the *nirvāna*, "wind-still," of Pāṇini; and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time; in other words, that his silence affords a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhistic creed.'\*

Dr. Weber after reviewing the remarks of Professor Goldstucker,† concludes by exclaiming—"And this then is all wherewith Goldstucker is able to prop up his opinion of

\* Goldstucker's Panini, p. 225 et seq.

† As follows:—"As by the general reception of Goldstucker's results, a relatively chronological result only concerning Panini's connection with the work in question has after all been attained; let us now proceed to the crown with which he has adorned that work, if his which awaits this consummation, viz., the demonstration that Panini must have lived before the time of Buddha. This indeed, which, if true discloses an important discovery, is founded upon two points. First, upon this, that Panini does not mention the name of Sakyamimi. Now we learn from Goldstucker himself (p. 18. vide supra p. 48.) that nothing is to be inferred from that circumstance—"sometimes the words which belong to his (Panini's) province will be at the same time also of historical and antiquarian interest; but it does not follow at all, that, because a word of the latter category is omitted in his rules, it is absent from the language also." The second point is, that Panini mentions indeed the word *nirvana*, but in the sense of "free from wind, wind-still," and not in the sense in which the word is held by the Buddhists:—"and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time: in other words that his silence offers a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhistic creed," (p. 227.) It is quite evident from this passage that this exposition stands in direct opposition to the above-cited earlier expressions of Goldstucker's from p. 18. It is also again to be observed that the word *avate* in "*nirvano 'vate*" Pan. 8. 2. 50, in the sense of "free from wind," as a possessive adjective, is not the "natural interpretation," but a perfectly arbitrary one, blundering against Panini's usage of language, as well as against the sense in which the commentary understands it. The word *avate* rather stands in juxtaposition with the words *asparce* *anapadane*, *avijigishayam* in the *sūtra* immediately preceding, and is to be understood, with them, as *Karmadharaya*. The *sūtra* subsequently says, "*Nirvana* [it is

Pāṇini's priority to Buddha—a daring undertaking indeed ! and at the same time an ignominy of all that speaks to the contrary, which excites surprise" ! The learned Doctor then proceeds to adduce proofs in support of his own opinion—that Pāṇini was later than Buddha ; and produces four items, such as the frequent mention of *bhikṣu*, *sramana*, *chivara*, *munda*, &c. &c. ; 2. That the Buddhists themselves consider Pāṇini as having lived after Buddha's time. For (says he) Burnouf informs us from the *Aryamanjusrī Mūlatantra*, " It is thus that Sākya predicts the future advent of Nāgarjūna 400 years after him. He likewise announces that of Pāṇini, of Chandragupta, and of Aryasangha" ; 3. That Pāṇini's vocabulary is proof of the proposition ; and 4. That no mention is made, among other names, of Pāṇini in the *Rik* or *Rik. Saṁhita*.

Taking the last ground first, it appears to me that (without entering into other questions which arise upon this point), the inference here sought to be deduced is of no greater weight than the like inference drawn by Professor Goldstucker

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the past perf. pass. of the root *va*] "out of the wind" or, "when there is no wind," that is to say, *nirvana* is not from the wind which blows out, it is blown out, it has ceased to blow, but from the regular part p. p. *nirvata*. From other things on the contrary, things that are blown out are blown away ; for example, according to Patāṅjali for the fire, a light, or as the Calc. Scholiast (how correctly ?) adds that *nirvana* is used for *bhikṣu*. This last example is, from Panini's frequent mention of *bhikṣu*, directly such a one as to lead one to suppose that by his rule he had it quite particularly in his eye. But I add that this is a mere conjecture, which may probably be so, but can be of no value anywhere as a proof. I have therefore also in these Studies, IV. §9., where I treat of intimations found in Panini's vocabulary concerning his time, only very briefly pointed them out in the note on the expression *nirvana* in VIII. 2. 50. If I had at all believed that that word must of necessity relate to *bhikṣu*, or indeed that it could bear that signification which suits the '*nirvana* of the Buddhist faith,' I would throughout have laid quite another weight upon it. In truth, both words—and it is therefore that Goldstucker's reciprocal exposition of *nirvana* has failed—have nothing to do with each other. The *nirvana* of the Buddhist faith is by no means a neuter of the part perf. passive, which may have acquired an abstract signification, but it is wholly a noun substantive, as *niryana*, *nirmanā* in the sense of "the blowing out" "the extinction." It is so regularly formed that Panini had not the least occasion to make mention of it, while the irregularly formed past. perf. passive *nirvana* instead of *nirvata*, required altogether a special rule."—*Weber's Indische Studien*, p. 136 et seq.

from the fact, that no mention is made of Sākya by Pāṇini. As to Pāṇini's vocabulary, I fail to perceive anything which leads to a conclusion one way or the other; and the words given by Dr. Weber as "actually Buddhistic terms" prove, in my humble opinion, nothing. For the Buddhists have scarcely any words which they have not taken from the Brahmans; \* *e. g.* the titles *veyyākaraṇa* and *Upadesa*, to which reference is made in one of the above extracts, are for the *Abhidhamma-pitaka*, and "the hymns of joyous inspiration" of the Buddhists. It would also appear from the Buddhist works that the Lokāyata or the Jainas† had an existence before Gotama. The Jainas had doubtless their *bhikkhu* mendicants, their *Samana* or *Sāvaka* hearers. They wore *chivara* robes; and had, like the Yavanas, their heads bare. It would, therefore, to say the least, be rash to affirm that the other words given by Dr. Weber as "actually Buddhistic terms" had not been known to other pre-existing Sectarrians; more especially as we find in the text books of Bhuddhism that Brahmans had frequently addressed Buddha with the epithets "S(r)amana bhavat Go(w)tama."

We are also told that the Buddhists themselves consider that Pāṇini is *after* Gotama Buddha. This is a mistake. There is no such belief entertained by the Buddhists in Ceylon. There is no mention of Pāṇini in any of the Ceylon Buddhist works. The authorities referred to are from the Nepaul works, and they are indeed no authorities at all. The prophecies which are related in them are the interpolations of seceders from the Buddhist Church. The predictions given in some of our own books regarding persons who lived after Gotama, such as Wijaya, Asōka, Nāgasena, &c., are the additions of zealous Buddhists, anxious to up-

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\* Vide Supra p. xxxiii. et seq. "The technology of the Buddhists" says Pandit Rajendralal Mitra, "is to a great extent borrowed from the literature of the Brahmans..... Their metaphysical terms are exclusively Hindu, and the names of most of their divinities are taken from the Hindu Pantheon"—*Lalita Vistara* p. 3.

† See extract in proof of this, *infra*.

hold the characters of whom they wrote, and to procure for their acts all the authority and weight with which such a prediction on the part of the sage was calculated to invest them. And, I may conclude by remarking, that the works themselves, in which these pretended prophecies\* are recorded, are comparatively modern works; and therefore not the text-books of Buddhism.

To return to the subject. The proof adduced by Professor Goldstucker is not the only evidence on this matter. It is capable of more satisfactory proof. The best mode in which the dates of authors may be ascertained, in view of the scanty information which Asiatic biography affords us, is by the references which are made by writers whose dates have been ascertained. Now, few dates have been better ascertained than that of *Gotama Buddha*. If it be not 543; it is assuredly 477 B. C. If, therefore, the personages, who figure most conspicuously in Brahmanic history, are unmistakably mentioned by Gotama, there can be but little doubt of their existence having been anti-Buddhistic. By an investigation into the Buddhist Literature, we obtain a result which, to say the least, is satisfactory. According to Shadgurusishya's Commentary on Kātyāyana's, *Sarvāṇu krama*: (and here I am indebted to Pr. Max Muller for the extract, see his *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 230, et seq.) Saunahotra, a descendant of Bhāradvāja of the race of Angiras, who entered the family of Bhrigu, took the name of Saunaka; 'the Reverend Asvalāyana was Saunaka's pupil;' and Kātyāyana studied the works of both Saunaka and Asvalāyana.' The same authority places Vyāsa about the same date, if not a little anterior to Saunaka. And Vyāsa, we learn from other Brahmanical sources, was the son of Parā-

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\* See Turnour's exposition of these frauds, in the Bengal Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for September, 1837, with reference to the Nepaul "amplified [vaipulya] sutras," says the learned Rajendralal Mitra, "they allude to individuals who lived long after the days of their alleged author, and claim a degree of elaboration and finish, which leave no doubt as to their having been compiled at a much later period."—*Lalita Vistara*, p. 16.

sara. If therefore, we adjust these names according to their dates, we obtain, 1 Paràsara, 2 Vyàsa, 3 Saunaka, 4 Asvalàyana, and 5 Kàtyàyana. These facts may perhaps be relied upon : but I must object to their being applied to the "idle stories" of *Kathà Sàrit Sàgara* of Dr. Somadeva of Kashmir, or to any chronological calculations being built upon their basis.

I have already had occasion to refer to this, which is the same work in substance as the *Vrihatkatha*. It is confessedly not a book of any authority.—It is a compilation of fables, abounding with the "marvellous." It was composed without reference to History or Chronology. It has not even followed the chronological system of his contemporary *Kalhana Pandit*. The author has strung together various stories without order or date ; and, I am persuaded, no one would be more amused than Somadeva himself, if now alive, at the historical importance attached by Europeans to his "ghost stories," lost in the unfathomable depths of his "Ocean-of-Rivers-of-Stories." It may indeed be asserted, (says Professor Wilson) that the *Cathà Sàrit Sàgara*, or rather the *Vrihat Cathà*, is not a much better guide than the *Bhòjaprabandà*, and that a collection of idle tales is bad historical evidence : it must be remembered however, that those tales are not of *Sòmadeva's* invention : he has only the merit of telling them in his own way, and of having collected them together from various quarters. Thus we have most of the legends relating to Vikrama, which constitute the *Sinhàsana Dvātrinsati* and *Vetala Pancha Vinsati*, and we have also a very considerable portion of the *Hitopadesa* or *Panchatantra* comprised in this selection.\*

Be the authenticity of the matters in *Sòmadva's* work, however, as it may. It cannot for one moment be maintained that it lends any authority to the identity (upon which several writers have based their inferences) between king Nanda in connection with whom Kàtyàyana is mentioned, and the

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\* Professor Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary, pp. x: xi.

predecessor of Chandragupta :\* My pandit has shrewdly intimated to me the probability, in view of the age of Asvalàyana, as it appears from Buddha's discourses, and the shifts to which Somadeva resorts to connect Kàtyàyana's story with other fables, that the mention of Channakka and Nanda, had led the writer to identify some previous Nanda with the predecessor of the Sudra king. This is not unlikely in the same manner that the Nepaul Buddhistical writings, to which M. Burnouf assigns a Cashmirian origin, had mistaken Dharmàsoka for Kàlāsoka : and I need hardly add that no inference can be drawn from the mention of *Channakka*. No arguments are indeed necessary to prove that the scheming, and treacherous Purōhita Brahman Channakka, who figures so conspicuously in the Hindu Nātakas and in our own Buddhistical annals, was different from the venerable sage Saunaka, the preceptor of Asvalàyana "celebrated among the rishis as the glorious, having seen the second Mandala, and who heard the collection of the Maha Bharata."

Nor has this, I believe, been attempted. But the authority upon which the identity between the writer of the Varttikas and the minister of King Nanda of Pātaliputta is attempted to be established, would have us believe that the former was also the contemporary of *Pānini* 'and actually defeated Pānini in a grammatical controversy.'!!

To return from this digression : the dates of *Parāsara* and *Asvalàyana*, however, may be ascertained from the Buddhistical annals. True it is that we cannot fix them exactly ; but if it can be shewn that they had an existence before Gōtama Buddha, it is sufficient for our purpose. Now, any one who has the slightest acquaintance with the history of Buddhism, and the disputes which the principal fraternities of Brahmans are said to have had with Gotama, cannot fail to identify the youth mentioned in the following extract, (the

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\* Professor Max Muller himself has fairly stated the weight due to this authority. See pp 242.

In the *Majjhima Nikāya*, from which I have already quoted, at p. xlv., the following passage occurs:—

‘ Thus have I heard. When, at a time, Bhagavà dwelt at Mukheluvana in Kajangala, a youth (named) Uttara, a pupil of the *Pàràsariya* fraternity, went to the place where Bhagavà was..... (Gotama inquired) Uttara, does the Brahman (your teacher) of the *Pàràsariya* fraternity teach *Indriya bhàvanà* to pupils? Sir, Gotama (replied Uttara) the Brahman of the *Pàràsariya* fraternity does teach *Indriya bhàvanà* to pupils.’

2. Evan me sutan : ekan samayan bhagavà Sāvattiyan viharati Jetavane ..... Tena khopana samayena nàṇa verajjakàṇan brahmanàṇan panchamattāni Brahmana satāni Sāvattiyan pativasanti kenachadevakaraniyena. Atha kho tesaṇ Brahmanàṇan etadahosi : ‘Ayan kho samano Gotamo chatuvannin suddhin paññāpeti ; konukho pahoti samanena Gotamena saddhin asmin vachane patimantetun’ti. Tena kho pana samayena Assalāyano nāma māṇavo Sāvattiyan pativasati ;—dhāro vuttasiro sālāsavassuddesiko jātīyā ; tinnan vedāṇan pāragū sanighandu ketubhāṇan sakkharappabhedā-

nan itihāsa panchamānan; pādako veyyakarano lokāyata mahā purisa lakkhanesu anavayo.

‘Thus have I heard: At a time Bhagavā dwelt at Jetavana in Sāvatti; and at that time about five hundred Brahmans of different countries,\* also resided there for some purpose. They thus thought: ‘this Samana Gotama proclaims the purity of (all) the four classes: who is able to dispute with Samana Gotama on this matter?’ At this time there lived at Sāvatti a youth named Assalāyana. He was young, head-shaven,† and about sixteen years of age (from his birth.) He had mastered the three Vedas, which, with (the supplements) *Nighandu*, *Ketubha*, and the distinction of *Akkhara* (letters) &c., have *Itihāsa* for a fifth.‡ He was a Pādaka,§

\* By ‘different countries’ says the Commentator, ‘are meant Anga and Magadha.

+ Assalayana was of the Bhagu (Bhrigu) family, and this, therefore, agrees with the Brahmanical account—that ‘the Bhrigus have their heads quite shaved.’—*Grihya-Sangraha parisista*.

‡ The above enumeration of Brahmanic sciences may not be unimportant in the identification of the person, who is said to have been accomplished in them. The three *Vedas* are here unmistakably mentioned. They are, as we learn from the *Ambatta Sutta*, *Trubbedā* (Rig. Veda) *Yajubbedā* (Yajur), and *Samaveda*, made by Atthaka and other religious Sages. The fourth Veda, which is here omitted, is else where stated to be the *Attabbana* (Atharvana) Veda, ‘made in subsequent times by impious (wicked) Brahmans, introducing life-slaughter, and other irreligious ceremonies, such as sacrificial torments &c.’ The fifth veda is called *Itihāsa* [puravutta pabando Bharataadhiko] ‘compositions of ancient times such as Bharata &c.’ It is also here stated that the three Vedas included ‘*Nighandu*, *Ketubha*, and the distinctions of *Akkhara* &c.’ These are doubtless the supplements to the Vedas, v. z. the *Vedāṅgas*, which are also expressly mentioned in the Buddhist annals. By *Nighandu* is meant, as Professor Roth says, ‘a collection of difficult and obsolete words, which formed a basis for instruction in the mode of expounding the Veda.’ *Ketubha* is explained in the Glossary to be [ketubhanti kiriya-kappa vikappo kavinan upakaraya Sattan] ‘a science which is an auxiliary to poetry.’ As a supplement, however, to the Veda, *Ketubha* can only be identified with the Sanskrit *Nirukta*, a science serviceable for the understanding of the Vedic hymns;

*Tasmad Vedarthava’bodhaya upayuktan Niruktam.*

‘Hence the *Nirukta* is serviceable for the understanding of the meaning of the ‘Vedas.’ ‘The distinction of *Akkhara* &c., may also be identified with the Brahmanical *Siksha*, which Sayana defines to be “the science of the pronunciation of letters, accents, &c.”

§ Pādaka.—This word is not explained in the glossary. From its being however mentioned immediately before Veyyakarana, I am inclined to believe that it is a



and a Veyyàkarano (grammarian). He was accomplished in Lokàyata,\* and in the science of *Purisa-lakkhand*.†

More direct evidence than the above, can scarcely be adduced of the identity of persons in Asiatic History : and, if, as I apprehend, Assalàyana here named, was a descendant of Asvalàyana, 'celebrated amongst the Rishis', the claims of Pànini to an antiquity remoter than Gotama, are undoubted. It may thence be concluded, that the Buddhist Grammarian availed himself of the Pàninya Vyàkarana, between which and the Pàli aphorisms there is so much correspondence.

But, there is the same correspondence between the Sanskrit *Varttikas*, and the Pali *Vutti*. Was, therefore, Kàtyàyana anterior to the Buddhist Pali Grammarian ?

I believe it is not stated that Kàtyàyana was a pupil of Asvalàyana. All that is alleged in respect of the former, is, that 'he, having mastered the thirteen books of Saunaka and of his pupil, composed several books himself.' What time, therefore, elapsed between them does not appear ; nor is there any valid reason to admit between them 'only an interval as large as that between teacher and pupil, or between father and son.'‡ If, however, such was the fact, Kàtyàyana may, for the reasons already adduced, be placed before Gotama ; for, all the testimony adduced in favor of Pànini's antiquity applies equally to Kàtyàyana.

But, supposing for the sake of argument, that Kàtyàyana's

Pali expression for the Sanskrit *Nairuktas*, or 'Etymologists,' a large class 'who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches,' as opposed to another school also mentioned in the text viz. the *Vaiyàkaranas* or 'Analysers,' who, according to Professor Max Muller, p. 164., 'following the lead of Gargyo the etymologist, admitted the verbal origin of those words only for which an adequate grammatical analysis could be given.'

\* The system of Atheistical philosophy taught by *Charvaka*.

† A science which teaches of the temper or fortune of a person, and of the lineaments of his body. The Commentator on the text, says that there was a work on the subject, consisting of 16,000 heads of instruction.

‡ Muller, p. 239.

Varttikà were post-Buddhistical, and after the age of Kachchàyana ; and that it is very improbable that the former availed himself of the language of a *Buddhistic* Pali writer : I beg to submit that this hypothesis does not shake the testimony in regard to Mahà Kachchàyana's identity with the author of Sandhikappa ; for all that may be fairly inferred in that case, is, that the *Vutti* in the Pali work, like the *Varttikà* to the Sanskrit Grammar, were written at a subsequent period and by a different person.

In noticing this question, it must be borne in mind, that although tradition in one voice ascribes the authorship of the Pàli Suttans in the Sandhikappa to Mahà Kachchàyana, yet that writers are divided in their belief as to the *Vutti* having been written by that distinguished hierarch of the Buddhist Church.\* This very difference of opinion disproves the alleged "tendency of later Buddhist writers to refer the authorship of their works to names famous in ancient Brahminic history."—(Max Muller, p. 303.)

Such are the facts and circumstances connected with the age and authorship of this Grammar, to which I desire to attract public attention. It is indeed possible that future researches may enable me to adduce more satisfactory proofs upon those points, or materially to qualify the inferences and conclusions here drawn. But, so far as my humble researches have hitherto extended, I incline to the opinion that this Pali Grammar was written by *Mahà Kachchàyana* in the latter-half of the sixth century before Christ.

As already stated this work is intended to illustrate the grammar of the language of Gotama Buddha's discourses. This may lead to the inference that it was, in some degree, different from another dialect which had also received the appellation of Māgadhī. Be this however, as it might. The Pāli is essentially the language of Buddhism. Nothing is known definitely of the state of its cultivation previous to the establishment of Buddhism by Gotama.

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\* See Appendix.

All that may be confidently advanced of times previous to the Buddhist era, is that in remote antiquity a tribe of people settled themselves under Bhārat in the *Aryadesha* or *Aryāvarta*, the region commonly known as Central India, between two lines of mountains the *Himalayā* on the North-East and the *Vindhya* on the West.\* According to the traditions current in India there were numerous kings from the war of the Mahā Bharat to a comparatively very late period; but all the dynasties, though existing in different parts of the *Aryadēsha*, were founded by one and the same race of people, whom we may designate the *Arians*, consisting of four classes, the *Kshēstriyas*, or the royal (military) tribe—the *Brahmans*, or the sacerdotal class—*Vaisya*, or the commercial—and the *Sudra*, or the servile.† Of the several dynasties, one was that of *Magadhas*. It numbers a connected chain of thirty-five kings from *Sahadeva*, who reigned at the termination of the war of Mahā Bharat, to the Buddhistical era in the reign of *Ajātasatta*.

The religion of the Magadha people was doubtless Brahmanism from a very early period, though at the Buddhistical era, it branched off into different sects.‡ Yet the undoubted existence at this time of a cultivated dialect, peculiar to the Magadhas, called the *Māgadhi*, proves that, whilst sharing with the Brahman their religion, the Magadhas had a language of their own, fundamentally the same as the Sanskrit, and exhibiting the nearest relation to the earliest form of the language of the Brahman.

Although there are now several dialects, including the Pali, which receive the name of *Prākṛita*, it may nevertheless be gathered from a variety of circumstances to which I shall hereafter refer, when I come to speak more particularly of the relation which the *Māgadhi* bears to the Sanskrit,—that

\* British Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xvi, p. 190.

† See Colebrook's Miscellaneous Essays ii. p. 178. Also American Oriental Journal iii. p. 314.; and Gotama Buddha's account of them in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. vii., p. 698.

‡ See my Lecture on Buddhism, p. 5, et seq.

the language which had at first received the name of *Prākṛita* is either now entirely lost, or has been absorbed into other forms of speech, leaving behind but few, if any, traces of the parent stem.

It is also very probable from historical and philological considerations, that the *Māgadhi* and the *Sanskrit* are two of those forms. Against this view of the question may be urged the absence of a *Māgadhi* literature before the Buddhistical period, and the undoubted existence of the Sanskrit.

The existence of a Sanskrit literature, before the Buddhistical era, was owing to the pre-existence of Brahmanism ; and if Buddhism had existed in Magadha before 628 B. C., we should doubtless have some evidence of the existence of the *Māgadhi*. But, such was not the fact. Till Gotama proclaimed his religion, and sought to disseminate it, far and wide, throughout Asia, the kings of Magadha had no necessity for a display of their language. Till then they had no religious feuds; no sectarian animosities. Till then there had been no contentions with any who held an antagonistic faith. Both the Magadhas and their Arian brethren were the adorers of the same gods. Their sacred books, through which alone the existence of a literature may be ascertained of nations of antiquity, were identical with those of the Brahmins. Although they had a language of their own, the *Māgadhi*; yet they had little to record in it apart from religion, to the exposition of which the Brahmins had laid exclusive claims; and if they had a literature of their own, which doubtless they had, its destruction through the agency of Brahmins, is sufficiently proved from the political changes which Magadha underwent in the fifth century, and, above all, from the fact that not many centuries after their promulgation, the sacred scriptures of Buddha were re-transferred from Ceylon to India.

When, however, the Magadha kings had embraced a new faith, a necessity arose which had not existed before; and that was the recording of the doctrines of Buddhism in books

And, although they shared the fate of their scientific works, yet by the early transfer of the former into different countries at a time when the Buddhists had not been subjected to the oppressions of the Brahmans, we have some means of knowing the existence of the *Māgadhī*, and that it had already attained the refinement it now possesses, at the time of Gotama Buddha's advent.\*

The absence, again, of a literature is not proof positive of the non-existence of the language itself, just as the absence of Sanskrit Inscriptions of a date anterior to the Buddhist era, is no evidence of the previous absence of the Sanskrit language. The non-existence moreover, of historical or literary records, testifies nothing further than the imbecility, or the apathy of a people, who had no taste for literary pursuits, or a regard for history, or historical proceedings. This, indeed, was the case with the early Brahmans, as well as the early Magadha princes. At first both had a common interest, and possessed in common a literature which was inseparably connected with their religion also common to both; and, therefore there was no inducement to raise monumental erections, which in comparatively later times were the result of a rupture of those ties which had formerly bound them together—the consequence of a new faith—the work of vain kings, wishing to proclaim the supremacy of a particular principedom, and to disseminate the tenets of a newly embraced creed.

The most important fact, however which demonstrates the existence of a *Māgadhī* literature before the Buddhist era is that furnished by the language itself, viz.—*its high state of cultivation at the period above mentioned*. This proves that it had been in existence for a long time previously. For it could not have attained its perfection in a day. It must have been the work of time, the result of ages, the slow progress of innumerable changes. A considerable period too,

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\* Turnour's Mahavansa—Int. p. xxvii.

must have intervened between the time when it first started into existence, and the period at which it was so much celebrated as to induce Pali scholars to designate it the *Mūla bhàsà*, 'the original language'

There are two theories current with regard to the comparative antiquity of the Sanskrit and Pali. Some regard the former as the original, and the latter as a *derivative* from it; whilst others affirm the superiority of the Pali over the Sanskrit, and assign to it an origin before the language of the Vedas. But, nearly all Brahman and European writers on the subject, are agreed in considering the several Indian dialects, which are generally designated the *Prākṛita*, as inferior in structure to the Sanskrit, and, therefore, as being deduced from it.

These are questions which are involved in doubt and obscurity; and upon which there is still great misapprehension. The uncertainty which prevails on the subject, appears to me to originate in the minds of men, who, without paying sufficient attention to a most important consideration—the history of Buddhism and of its language, the Pali, suffer their judgment to be swayed by two circumstances, viz., the superior structure of the Sanskrit, and the comparative antiquity of its records.

Those who assign to the Sanskrit a superiority over the Pāli do so upon the grounds that the former is more "finished" and "elaborate" than the latter; and that the Pali cannot be traced, through its literature or religion, to a period before Gotama—whereas the Vedas and the Mahā Bhārata\* are confessedly of a much anterior date.

I readily accord to the Sanskrit, as to its "wonderful structure" and "refinement," the superiority, which one of its most accomplished and able students, Mr. Colebrooke, assigns, when he declares it to be—'a most polished tongue, which was gradually refined, until it became fixed in the classic

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\* Prof. Lassen's Ind. Ant. 1, 489-491.

writings of many elegant poets, most of whom are supposed to have flourished in the century preceding the Christian era.' I also admit the existence of positive evidence to prove that the Vedas, and therefore the faith it proclaims, had been known before Gotama established his religion by means of the Māgadhi.

But these admissions, I presume, do not affect the theory of some of our ablest pandits, viz., that at a very remote period, some *one Prākṛita* ['mother'] dialect, which can no longer be identified, or may not now be in existence in its original development, was the principal tongue of the Arians; and that the *Pāli* (not the dialect spoken at present in Magadh or Behar, nor the Māgadhi of the Indian Grammarians), and the Sanskrit, are both branches of the same unknown original stock.

In the investigation of this subject, it may not be unprofitable to notice, to the extent of our limited information and means, (1) the subdivisions of the principal Indian languages; (2) the number of dialects comprehended in the term *Prākṛita*; (3) the acceptation of that term by nations and literary men; (4) its correct signification; (5) the conjectures as to its identification; (6) its relationship to the Sanskrit; and (7) its high state of cultivation and decline in Asia.

I. As to the classification of Indian languages, we have the following interesting passage in the *Dandialankāra*, or as it is otherwise called, *Kāvyadarsha*.

Tade tadvānmayan bhūyas \*  
 Sanskritan Prākṛitan tathā;  
 Apabhraṅsascha misranche  
 Tyāhurāptāschatur vidham.  
 Sanskritan nāma daivivā  
 Ganvākhyatā mahārshibih;

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\* Tadeva vaumayan vidyat—Lassen p. 33, I am indebted for the text to a Sinhalese copy.

Tadbhavan Tatsaman Desi  
 Tyanèkah Pràkritakramah.  
 Mahàrāshtrāsrayām bhāshām  
 Prakrishtam Prākritam viduh ;  
 Sāgarah sūkti ratnānām  
 Setubandhādi yanmayam.  
 Saurasenīcha Lāñīcha  
 Gowḍīchā'nyāpi tādriṣi ;  
 Yānti Prākrita mityēva  
 Vyavahāreshu sannidhim.  
 'Abhirādi girah kāvye  
 Shv'apabhransa itismritah ;  
 Sastreshu Sanskritā danya  
 D'apabhransa tayoditam—  
 Sanskritam sarga bandhādi  
 Prākritam skhanda' kādiyat ;  
 Ousharādi-ny'apabhranso  
 Nātakā ditu misrakam.  
 Kathādi sarvabhāshābīh  
 Sanskritenacha baddhyate ;  
 Bhūtā bhāshā mayim prāhur  
 Atbhūtārtham Vrihatkathām.

That is to say—' Preceptors declare that the (above) compositions consist of four kinds (of language); Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhransa,\* and Misra. The speech of the gods, which is defined by great sages, is named Sanskrit. The Prākrit is of various orders; viz. *Tadbhava* (born of the Sanskrit), *Tatsama* (which is equal or similar to the Sanskrit), and *Desi* (provincial or local). The language current in Mahārāshtra is known as the principal Prākrita—that which is an ocean to gems of beautiful language, and that in which Sēṭubandha,† &c., are composed. The

\* The Commentator says—' pure Sanskrit, pure Prakrit, pure Apabhransa, and a mixture of these with the Paisachi &c.'—

† Professor Cowell states in the introduction to his *Prakrit Prakasa*, that this a 'rare and ancient Prakrit poem' the knowledge of which he derives 'from Dr. Hofer's interesting article in his *Zeitschrift*'—p. x.



languages of Saurasena, Lāta, Gowḍa, and such like,\* are usually† treated under the very name of Prākṛita. Dialects like the Abhirā‡ &c., are (alone) reckoned as Apabhraṃsa in poetry; but in the *Shāstras*§ all languages besides the Sanskrit receive that name. Compositions which are divided into chapters, are in the Sanskrit language; those which are (skandaka) composed in one entire body, are in the Prākṛita; those like the *Aushra* are in the Apabhraṃsa; and the *Drāmas* are (misra) in a mixed dialect. Historical writings &c. are composed in the Sanskrit, as well as in (other) dialects; but the *Vrihatkathā* of marvellous import, is said to be only in the speech of the demons.'

*Obs.*—(a) The division of languages here spoken of, is founded upon the authority of Brahman writers, and their usages. That division is into four; viz., Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃsa, and Misra—epithets which have certain meanings, and which are descriptive of the different languages for which they are names. The *Sanskrit* is 'the language of the gods'—that is, the sacred language of the Brahmans, in which historical writings, and the *Shāstras* are composed, having subdivisions.

The Prakrit is various, or, in other words, has 'several orders' or 'dialects'; and is divided into three classes, viz., *tadbhava*, *tatsama*, and *desi*. The first comprehends "derivatives," those which have sprung from the Sanskrit which have undergone various mutations in course of time and which may yet be traced to the parent stem. The second includes 'sister-dialects,' those which are *tatsama* 'co-equal' or, 'similar,' or 'bear a resemblance to the Sanskrit; and which stand in fraternal connection with the Sanskrit—not in the relation of descent from it—not be-

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\* The Commentator understands by 'such like,' the languages of Magadhi (Pali) and Panchala (Zend.)

+ 'Usually'—that is 'in practice,' 'by custom' or 'usage.'

‡ *Abhiri*—a dialect of herdsmen, of people of the lowest tribe.

§ By the *Shāstras* are meant the works of the Brahmans—their scientific books.

gotten by it ;—but sprung from the same shoot with it. The third is a name for *provincial dialects*, or *non-Sanskrit* languages,—those which cannot be traced to a Sanskrit origin, or do not exhibit any evidence of fraternity to it. They are *dèsi*, peculiar to a country, or, as the Sinhalese call them, *nīpan* ‘born in a country,’ and therefore *local*.

Of these various Prākṛit dialects, the Mahārāstri is in the estimation of my authority, the best cultivated dialect. Perhaps, it was, at the time *Dandi* wrote, which is supposed to have been in the twelfth century of the christian era—\* ‘*an ocean to gems of beautiful language*’—a dialect, which, like the ‘vast profound’ abounded in gems of lofty expressions—(that is ; rich in expression, and copious as a language), as evidenced by works like the *Sétubandha* &c. Prākṛit compositions, unlike the Sanskrit works, which are subdivided into chapters, are only in entire books.

Although by *Prākṛita* such languages as the above are alone indicated ; yet (says *Dandi*) ‘the dialects of Saurasena ; *Lāta*, *Gowda*, and such like (by which the commentator says the *Māgadhī* and *Panchālī* were meant) are usually treated under the very name of *Prākṛita*.’

The name of the third division of languages is *Alpabhraṇsa* or ‘the ungrammatical’—‘a jargon ;’ such as the *Abhīri* and *Chandālī*—dialects used by herdsmen, and by persons of the lower orders ;†—for compositions in which, *Dandi* refers the reader to *Oushra*.

*Mīśra* is the name of the last division of languages,—that dialect which contains a *Mixture* of all the other classes of language—not a mixture of merely words, but entire passages of different languages interlarded with the Sanskrit as in the dramas.

Another division of languages, as stated by *Dandi*, and according to the *Shāstras* of the Brahmins, is into *Sanskrit*

\* See Professor H. H. Wilson’s Preface to the *Dasakumara Charita* p. 4.

† Colebrook’s *Essays* ii. p. 61.

and *Apabhraṃsa*, the latter including all dialects besides the Sanskrit. Historical compositions are written in all the languages comprised under these two heads; but *Vrihatkatha* alone (which abound with the 'marvellous') are to be found in the speech of the *demons*, by whom I understand the barbarians, or the aboriginal inhabitants of those provinces which were afterwards peopled by the Arian race.

*Obs.*—(b.) The above inferences which are forced upon us by the phraseology adopted by *Dandi* and by the explanations of his Commentator, authorize five important conclusions, 1st, That although the *Prākṛita* has become manifold, or has assumed diverse forms; yet it may be regarded as *tatsama*, or, as having a fraternal relation to the Sanskrit. 2. That the principal *Prākṛit* dialect, which (whether rightly or wrongly we shall not here pause to consider) is generally regarded as the *Maharāstri*—is rich in expression, and copious as a language; 3. That although originally there was but one *Prākṛita* dialect, many tongues have nevertheless been by the usage of Brahmans improperly comprehended under the appellation of *Prākṛit*; 4. That all dialects except the Sanskrit are by them designated *Apabhraṃsa* 'the ungrammatical';\* 5. That the Pali (*Māgadhi*) and the language of Punjab (*Pan-chāla*) may be regarded as two dialects bearing some particular relation to each other.†

II. The dialects which receive the designation of the *Prākṛita* are many; and they are to be generally found in the dramatic writers. The Commentators, Grammarians, and

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\* This last fact accounts for the common acceptance of the term *Prākṛita*, to which I shall hereafter refer.

† Professor Wilson, speaking of the Pali, says "It is, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit, and may have prevailed more to the North than Behar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Punjab, being more analogous to the Sauraseni dialect, the dialect of Mathura and Delhi, although not differing from the dialect of Behar to such an extent as not to be intelligible to those to whom Sakya and his successors addressed themselves."—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* xii. p. 23.

Rhetoricians, who have written on the languages contained in the Hindu plays variously define them, with reference to the patois of the drama; and there seems to be much misapprehension, and much more confusion in their classification.

1. Monsieur Adolphus Fredricus Stenzler in his preface to the Play entitled the *Mritcha Katika*, after quoting from a Commentator states :

Dialecti non Sanskritœ, quæ in dramates adhibentur, sunt aut *Prakritœ* aut *apabhraṁsicœ*. Prakritœ dialecti sunt Saurasenī, Avanti, Prachyā, Māgadhi. Apabhraṁsicœ dialecti sunt Sakārā, Candālī, Sabarī, Dhakki.\*

2. The same Commentator, to whom Monsieur Stenzler was indebted for the above, also states :—

‘Māgadhyavantijā Prachyā Saurasenyardha Māgadhi Bālīkā Dākshinātyācha sapta bhāṣhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.’

That is : ‘It is declared that there are seven dialects (in Dramatic works) Māgadhi, Avanti, Prachyā, Saurasenī, Ardha-Māgadhi, Bālīkā, and Dakshinātyā.†

3. There was a tradition current, in the thirteenth century, that there were only six Indian dialects which received the name of *bhāṣha*; and hence the appellation of *Shad-bhāṣha parameshvara*, to one who is a proficient in six languages. These are enumerated in the *Ratna-kosha*; and they are—

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\* Mr. Colebrooke on the authority of *Kullaka Bhatta* on Menu ii. 19, identifies Sauraseni as the language of Saurasena, another name for the country of *Mathura*. Avanti is *Oujin*, or as the Singalese call, *Udeni*; and the language of which is supposed to be the *Malava*. *Prachya* is the language on the East of India. It is identified with the *Goudi* or *Bengali* by the Commentator on the *Sahityadarpana*. *Magadh* is the language of Magadh or Behar. It is at present a corruption of the ancient language of that country. The original is alone preserved in Ceylon and Burmah. *Sakari*, and *Sabari* have not been identified; Candali is supposed to be the dialect of herds men of the lowest tribes; and Dhakki is probably *Dhakshinatya*; see next note.

† *Ardha-Magadhi* is a corrupt dialect of the Pali. It may be identified with the *Magadhi* of the Prakrit Grammarians. *Bhalika* is supposed by Mr. Colebrooke to be the language of *Balkh*, in the *Transoxana*, a country famous for its horses and situated on the North of India—*Dakshinatya* is identified by the Commentator of the *Sahitya darpana* as the country of *Vidarbha*, which is said to be the modern *Berar*.

'The Sanskrit, Prākṛita, Māgadhi, Sauraseni, Paisāchi, and Apabhransa.'

4. In the *Selalihini-Sandesa* the philological acquirements of Totagamuva, a Ceylonese, who lived about 1415 A.D.\*, are said to have been so vast that Brahmans visited him from India to pay the homage due to a *Shadbhāṣhā-parameshvara*.† The six bāsas with which he was acquainted are enumerated thus—'The Sanskrit, Pāli (Māgadhi), Prākṛit, Sauraseni, Paisāchi, and Apabhransa.'

5. Hemachandra, a Grammarian of the Jaina sect, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and wrote a *Prākṛit Grammar* as an eighth *adhyāya* after the seven *adhyāyas* of his Sanskrit Grammar‡ enumerates also six *bhāṣas*; and they are Prākṛit *bhāṣha* (which Mr. Cowell calls 'principal prākṛit') the Sauraseni, Magadhi, Paisāchi, Chulika Paisāchi, and the *Apabhransa bhāṣha*.

6. Mr. Colebrooke gives the following translation of a passage§ in a work on Rhetoric compiled for the use of *Mānīkya Chandra* a king of Tirhat, but the name of the work is not given:—'*Sanscrita, Pracrita, Paisachi* and *Māgadhi* are in short the four paths of poetry. The gods, &c., speak *Sanscrita*; benevolent genii, *Pracrita*; wicked demons *Paisachi*; and men of low tribes and the rest, *Māgadhi*. But sages deem Sanscrit the chief of these four languages. It is used three ways; in prose, verse, and in a mixture of both.'

'Language again, the virtuous have declared to be four fold, Sanscrita (or the polished dialect) *Pracrita*, (or the vulgar dialect) *Apabhransa* (or jargon), and *Misra* (or mixed). *Sanscrita* is the speech of the celestials, framed in grammatical institutes; *Pracrita* is similar to it, but manifold as a provincial dialect and otherwise, and those languages which are ungrammatical are spoken in their respective districts.'

\* See my *Sidath Sangara* Intr. p. clxxxviii.

† See Introduction to *Tudave's Selalihini Sandesa*.

‡ See *Prakrit Prakasa* by Cowell; Introduction p. xi.

§ *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii, p., 1.

7. Vararuchi in his *Prākṛit Prakāśa* gives a principal Prākṛita, supposed to have been the Mahārāstri, and enumerates three others, the *Saurasēṇī*, *Magadhī* and *Pāisāchī*, for the elucidation of which he assigns but a very small portion of his work.

*Obs.*—From the above authorities, taken in connection with the foregoing historical notices on the Pāli language, several important facts may be deduced. First, that there was originally but *one* language which received the name of *Prākṛit*, and that since it became ‘ manifold as a provincial dialect,’ its name has been applied to other tongues : and this is attested by another fact, that the farther back we go in point of time in search of the *Prākṛit*, the fewer are the dialects treated of by authors under that name ; and that Vararuchi, the Prākṛit Grammarian of the times of Vikramāditya, treats chiefly of one *Prākṛit* dialect, the ‘ dialectus principua’ of Professor Lassen. From the names, too, given to the *Shad-bhasha* of comparatively an ancient date, it may be inferred that the many varieties given in modern works under the name of *Prākṛit* are merely “ the subtle refinements of a later age,” in order to distinguish the fifty-six\* different languages “ spoken in their respective districts,” some of them being *Misra* or mixed ; and that philologically speaking languages were originally three-fold, viz , those which have been designated by the epithets *Sanskṛita*, *Prākṛita*, and *Apabhraṃsa*. These in the language of the Brahman Rhetorician above quoted upon Mr. Colebrooke’s authority, were 1st, “ the speech of the celestials framed in Grammatical Institutes ;” 2nd, a “ dialect *simi’ar* to the last ;” and 3rd, a “ language ungrammatical.”

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\* From the Sanskrit are usually enumerated fifty-six dialects as known in India the principal of which are the Pāli, long since the dead and sacred tongue of the Buddhists ; the Magadhī, a more recent form of Pāli, and an ancient dialect of a great part of Behar, also a dead language ; various forms of Prākṛit ; besides nine-tenths of Hindi, Bengali, Maharatti, Gujarati, and the rest of the fifty-six dialects”

—*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, xvi p. 174.

The first, it would seem, became early fixed, as the dialect of the Vedas—the last was the spoken language of the rude aborigines of the Dekhan—and the second, the speech of different Arian nations, which underwent different modifications ; such as the Pali of the Sinhalese; the Bactrian-Pali\* of the bilingual coins of the Greek kings; the idiom of the *Zendavastâ* ; † the dialect of the Nepal Buddhists, and the Jains ; the speech of the mass of the people with whom the Greeks came in contact after Alexander's invasions ; the language of Asoka's Inscriptions ; and the *Prākṛita* of the plays.

Although the original *Prākṛit* has thus undergone different changes in different countries ; yet it is clear that the differences which at first distinguished several *Prākṛit* dialects from each other, were not such as to render any one of them altogether unintelligible to the great mass of the people. This was, obviously, the reason why the *Māgadhī*, "the speech of the Brahmans and the Aryas" ‡ is represented as having been generally intelligible to Gotama's varied congre-

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\* Several inscriptions, as obtained from the Topes excavated, or as forwarded by travellers from within the ancient limits of Bactria, were nearly deciphered, so that very little remained to perfect this discovery also, and to establish that the *ancient Pali language*, or something very closely resembling it, prevailed over all those countries"—Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal vii. p. ix.

† It is a question well worthy the attention of the learned, whether or not every fact stated in respect of the Zend in the following extract is not equally applicable to the Pali? Professor Max Muller says: "It is clear from his (Burnouf's) works, and from Bopp's valuable remarks in his comparative grammar, that Zend in its grammar and dictionary, is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European language. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit simply by changing the Zend into their corresponding forms in Sanskrit,..... Where Sanskrit differs in words or grammatical peculiarities from the Northern members of the Arian family, it frequently coincides with Zend. The numerals are the same in all these languages up to 100. The name for thousand, however, (*sahasra*) is peculiar to Sanskrit, and does not occur in any of the Indo-European dialects except in Zend, where it becomes *hasanra*..... These facts are full of historical meaning; and with regard to Zend and Sanskrit, they prove that these two languages continued together long after they were separated from the common Indo-European stock"—*Professor Muller's Last Results &c.* pp. 112.

‡ See extract from *Vibhanga Atuvva*, post.

grations; why the ancient Translators of several Sinhalese books\* into the Pali say, that by such transposition they "would render a facility to both the inhabitants of this island, and of other lands;" and why Buddhaghosa, a consummate Sanskrit scholar of the 5th century, preferred the *Pāli* to the Sanskrit in translating the Sinhalese *Atthakathā*.

III. As to the acceptation of the term *Prākṛita* amongst nations and literary men;—

1. Mr. Colebrooke, according to a forced etymology, says "the most common acceptation of this word is *outcast*, or men of the lowest class; as applied to a language it signifies *vulgar*." †

2. Cowell, the translator of the *Prākṛita Prakāśa*, says "Prākṛit is the common name given to the various dialects which sprang up in early times in India from the corruption of the Sanskrit, and as the word is used by grammarians, it signifies, '*derived*, thereby to denote its connection with the original Sanskrit." ‡

3. The authority upon which the above opinions are founded, is taken from *Hemachandra*, who defines—*Prakṛitih Sanskritam tatra-bhavam tata āgatam vā, prākṛitam*—'Prākṛit has its source in Sanskrit, and is that which springs or comes from it.'

*Obs.*—Though willing to admit the above to be the acceptation of this word amongst the *Brahmans* generally, to distinguish their so-called heaven-derived religion from other dialects; we cannot, however, receive such opinions without caution, and even distrust; for we perceive from the writings of the *Brahmans* themselves, both unwilling and prejudiced witnesses in this respect,—that the so-called "common acceptation" of the term, does not accord with facts, and the particular opinions expressed by the learned. For, if the *Prākṛit* is "equal" (or similar) to the *Sanskrit*; and, if moreover the

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\* Introduction to the Pali version of the *Daladāṇṣa*.

† See his *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii. p. 2.

‡ See his *Prākṛit Prakāśa* xvii.



former is "an ocean to gems of lofty expressions;" with what justice or propriety can it be said that the Prākṛit is an "out-cast"—that it is "a vulgar dialect"—or that it is (apabhraṃsa), a "jargon" destitute of grammar? A comparison of the Sanskrit with the Pali, clearly disproves the assertion of the *Shāstras*; and the result is not different when even the Prākṛit passages in the dramas are compared with the "speech of the gods."

4. Sir William Jones describes the Prākṛit in the plays to be little more than the language of the Brahmans, melted down by a distinct articulation, to the softness of the Italian.\*

5. Professor H. H. Wilson from the testimony contained in the Dramas, written by Kālidāsa, and in several 'finished modern imitations', treats the *Pali* under the designation of Prākṛit (under which appellation he includes 'three varieties more or less refined',) and adds: "the words are essentially the same in all, and all are essentially the same with Sanskrit, the difference affecting the pronunciation and spelling, rather than the radical structure, and tending generally to shorten the words, and substitute a soft for a hard, and a slurred for an emphatic articulation."†

6. The *Kāvya darsha* defines the Sanskrit to be 'the speech of the devas,' and the *Prākṛita* to consist of several dialects, of which some are born of the *Sanskrit*; and some which stand in equal relationship with it; and others which are native or vernacular—peculiar to certain countries.

*Obs.*—I am aware that some writers‡ have put a different construction upon this authority: and have interpreted it to mean that the Prakrits 'are composed of a three-fold element.' It is however submitted with much deference, that the differences noticed by Dandi are differences of entire *dialects*, or, as the commentator says, entirely '*pure dialects*'

\* Preface to the *Sakuntala*. † Hindu Theatre l. p. lxiv.

‡ Dr. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* i. p. 60.

and not differences of words in the same dialect. The context sets this at rest ; for the writer enumerates 'several orders', or the 'various' dialects of the I'rākṛit, and not the words of which they are composed.

But to return from this digression :

7. "In reference to the meaning of the word Frākṛit," says Dr. Stevenson, "it may be observed that, among the Mārāthi Brahmans, the term is often taken in its widest sense to signify the *natural* or vernacular language of any province in India. In a more restricted sense, it means any of the *ancient* dialects of the different provinces, and which as most of their books used till lately to be written in it, obtains, in the South of India, the appellation *Grontha*.\*

8. The Sinhalese also give the name of *Grontha* to ancient languages, and doubtless it is identic l with the Indian *Prākṛita* as may be seen from the enumeration of the qualifications of King Parakkramabahu III., 1267, A.D., in an extract from History given in my *Sidath Sangara* p. clxix.

9. "There are" says the Rig Veda, "four measured grades of language : with these intelligent Brahmans are acquainted. Three hidden in secret make no sign. The fourth grade of speech is *uttered by men*." Dr. Muir in his Sanskrit Texts p. 163, et seq., after quoting the above, and its comment, which concludes thus :—"the Brahmans speak two sorts of language ; both that of gods and that of men—" says, "three of the ancient schools which are quoted, assert the current language (*vyavaharika vak*) to be the fourth kind of speech alluded to in the Vedic text, as being spoken by men ;" and, after expressing a conjecture, that this was the Sanskrit (?) he adds :—"It is true that in the Brahmana which the author of the *Parisishṭa* cites, a remark is made (connected with what precedes) that the Brahmans *speak two languages, that of the gods, and that of men* ; and this might seem to prove that, as in later times, a distinction was drawn at

the time when the Brahmaṇa was composed, between *Sanskrit*, the language of the gods, and the *Prakrit* the language of men."—p. 165.

*Obs.*—From the foregoing facts, deductions, and inferences it may be concluded that *an* "ancient," "cultivated," "natural or vernacular dialect," "similar to the Sanskrit" has continued to retain the name of *Prākṛit*, along with several provincial dialects, which are usually treated under the same name.

IV Like all the above grounds of evidence, the testimony derivable from the primary signification of the word *prākṛita* is against the so-called "common acceptation" of that word; and invests the language, to which it was originally given as a name, with a character for originality and independence equal to, if not higher than, the Sanskrit.

I am glad to find that Professor Lassen agrees with me in believing that *prākṛiti* is the "source" from whence *Prākṛita* is derived; but I am equally sorry that I am constrained to differ from him as to the meaning which he assigns to that word. In his *Institutiones Linguae Prakriticae* pp 25, 26, the learned Professor says:—"Notatio vocabuli est a *Prākṛiti*, i. e. procreatrix, genetrix natura, unde *Prākṛita*, generatus, derivatus; derivatur enim hae linguae a Sanskritica aut directo aut una per aliam, quo sensu dicitur *prākṛiti* cujusvis linguae esse ea, a qua deducitur: *Prākṛitih Sanskritam, tata-bhavam tata āgatam vā Prākṛitam*. Hemach: Cap. viii. § 1. 'Prākṛiti sive origo in Sanskrita est; in ea lingua ortum vel ex ea profectum quod est, id *prākṛita* s. derivatum est.' Opponuntur praeterea in aliis juncturis sibi *Sanskrita* et *Prākṛita*, ut de hominibus, qui quum justa cultioris vitae institutione imbuti sint, Sanskritici, sin minus, *Prākṛitici* dicuntur, unde fit, ut *prākṛita* etiam notet hominem vulgarem. *Prākṛiticæ* igitur linguae etiam sunt vulgares, rusticae, provinciales."

Now, it is clear that if *Prākṛit* comes from *prākṛiti* (pro-

creatrix, genetrix natura) 'nature', the former cannot mean, as stated by the learned Professor, "derived," but its very opposite—"the radical, or the root," and, when applied to a language, "the original language from which another springs." That "the several Prākṛit dialects are *regarded*" [by modern Brahmans\*] "as derivatives of the Sanskrit either directly or mediately" signifies nothing; and cannot, I apprehend, affect the question any more than the dictum of the Buddhists, 'that the Pali is the [*māla bāṣā*] radical language'. The only mode by which we may ascertain the correct meaning of *Prākṛita* is, I submit, as Professor Lassen himself has done, by tracing the word to its radical, primary, signification, in which sense, we may, considering the usages of the East, reasonably believe it was originally used.

By any other mode of determining the sense of this word we shall fail to obtain any information beyond the secondary sense, which, in the arbitrary usage of the *modern* Brahmans of the dramatic age, is assigned to this word—viz., that it is a name for "vulgar, rustic, and provincial forms of speech." The modern acceptance of this word, is indeed inadmissible in an inquiry as to what language it was *ab initio* a name? Words are like men. They grow into various shapes. They gradually lose their original forms. They undergo in process of time, so many changes both in body and sense, that we cannot often determine their original meaning by their "common acceptance" at the present day. If, for instance, desirous of ascertaining how the old Romans preserved their writings, we referred to the modern acceptance of the term *volumen*, it would give us an idea merely 'of writing preserved on paper folded, or bound like our books (volume) with a number of distinct leaves above one another. But, if we

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\* "It is in the period with which we are now concerned (says the same writer) viz., that between Vikramaditya and the later Gupta Kings, that the names Sanskrit for the classical language, and Prakrit for the forms of speech springing from it, must have arisen."—*Lassen's Ind. Ant.* ii. p. 115].

traced the word to its original (*prakriti*) source, we should find that it meant 'a folding,' 'a roll'—and, therefore, that the Romans 'rolled up their writings' as a 'scroll,' or like 'the folds of a snake.' Suppose again, for instance, we were engaged in an inquiry as to whether the Kandians and the maritime Sinhalese were originally of the same stock; and we were in the course of our investigations furnished with two epithets, 'opposed to each other,' and by which the maritime natives were distinguished from the Kandians; viz 'the *high* Sinhalese' and 'the *low* Sinhalese.' By the adoption of the meanings which either ignorance or prejudice has assigned to them among some people, we must conclude that the first meant 'the Sinhalese strictly so called\*' and the second, 'the low' 'the inferior,' or (as the Brahmans designate the *Prākṛita*) 'the vulgar.' But nothing could be more distant from the original signification of these terms as applied to the Sinhalese. The first meant 'those who occupied the *high*-lands of the Kandian country,' and the second 'those who inhabited the flat *levels* of the maritime provinces.'

In considering, therefore, the question as to the comparative claims of the *Prākṛita* and the *Sanskṛita*, we should take their *primary*, not their secondary, sense—that which they radically import, not that which has been assigned by usage. In a primary sense also, be it remarked, those words are "opposed to each other"; *Sanskṛita* conveying 'adornment' and *Prākṛita* 'the natural': and this it would seem is also proof of the *Prākṛita* being the 'original' form of language, and therefore, in a secondary sense, (to adopt the contemptuous expressions of the Hindus) 'the uncultivated savage,' 'the rustic,' or 'the vulgar' idiom from which the language of the Brahmans has arisen to the development of

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\* See Ceylon Branch Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, vii. p. 240.

the *Sanskrit*, 'the highly polished', or 'the civilized.'\*

I have already shown that the word from whence *Prākṛita* is derived, was *prakṛiti*. It is thus defined by several writers :—

1. According to the *Amarakosha* (see pp. 32. 55) *prakṛiti* means in the *Sanskrit* 'nature' 'the natural state.'

2. Bopp defines it also to be '*natura r. kri facere præf Pra s. ti*'—*Glossarium Sanscritum* p. 225.

3. Professor H. H. Wilson gives to it among other significations, the following ; 'Nature, in philosophy, the passive or material cause of the world, as opposed to the active or spiritual ;—the natural state, or condition of any thing ; a radical form or predicament of being ; cause, origin, a mother, the radical form of a word before the affixes forming cases, &c. are subjoined. E. *pra* implying 'priority' or 'precedence,' *kri* 'to make' aff : *ti*.'

4. The same meanings are assigned to its kindred expressions (*pakati*) in the Pali, (see *Abhidanapadīpika* p. 11.) and in the Sinhalese (see Clough and the *Sidath Sangara*).

*Obs.*—*Prākṛiti* is therefore, that which is natural, or the nature itself of a thing—that which is pre-eminent—that which is the natural and quiescent state of any thing—'not made.' Hence it is clear that the correct and primary sense of the word *Prākṛita*,—indeed that which was originally assigned to it, despite the so-called 'common acceptance,'—was 'original,' 'root,' 'natural.' By the *Prākṛit* was therefore, at first meant the original Indian language, as distinguish-

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\* Colonel Sykes, after alluding to certain doubts expressed by Professor Wilson as to how the descendants (the *Prākṛits*) could have been so exquisitely refined as he found them in the Plays, if the parent (the *Sanskrit*) was comparatively rude, which he believes was the fact before the age of the classical language of the Hindu literature, says ; "A simple solution of Professor Wilson's doubts would be to consider the *Sanskrit* emanating from the Pali, [? I shall rather say—the one original *Prākṛit* language which has assumed the form of Pali]—the perfect from the imperfect, the polished from the rude, and the expressive from the simple ; at least such is the natural progress of languages with growing civilization."—*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vi. p. 422.

able from the Apabransa 'the ungrammatical,' and the Sanskrit, signifying [from *sam* 'altogether' or 'together,' and *kṛita* 'done' = 'altogether' or 'completely made, done, or formed'] that 'which has been composed or formed by art adorned, embellished, purified, highly cultivated or polished, and regularly inflected as a language.'

V. What then was this *original Prākṛit* language which was "similar to the Sanskrit?" It would be in vain to look for it in any of the living languages of the world; for it is an established fact in philology that all languages change \* in course of time, even without the introduction of foreign elements. It can only be discovered, I presume, by the examination of the earliest writings of those languages which have ceased to be spoken.

Let us first examine the dramatic dialects with reference to the precepts of the Grammarians and Commentators.

1. It has been found by Professor Lassen and others who have examined these writings, (says Mr. Stenzler) † that, making great allowances for the errors of ignorant copyists, and the unauthorized alterations of learned transcribers, there is still a difficulty in reconciling the doctrines of the grammarians with the language of the dramas.

2. 'Much discrepancy' says Mr. Cowell ‡ exists between the Prākṛit of the grammarians, and that which we find in the plays.'

3. Professor Wilson, who was intimately acquainted with the language of the dramas, from his having translated them, says that the term Prākṛit, applied by grammarians 'to a variety of forms, agrees only in name with the spoken dialects.' 'The *Māgadhi* by which name may be considered that dialect which is more ordinarily understood by Prākṛit, is very different from the vernacular language of Magadh or

\* Subodhānāṅka on Rhetoric.

† See his preface to the *Mṛitchakatika*.

‡ *Prākṛit Prakāśa* p. vii.

Behar. The *Saurasenī* is by no means the same with the dialect of Mathura, and Vrindavan, and the *Maharashtrī* would be of little avail in communicating with the Maharattas, or people of Maharastra. The other species enumerated, are equally inapplicable for identification with the dialects to which they might be supposed to refer.\*

4. 'Highly finished specimens are to be found in plays which are modern productions. The *Vedagdhā Madhura*, for instance, consists more than half of high Prākṛit, and it was written less than three centuries ago.'—ib.

*Obs.*—This discrepancy may be accounted for by the following conjecture. The dramatic writers, whose age is fixed by Professor Lassen at 400—100 B. C., and, who wrote the great bulk of their plays in Sanskrit, were eminent *Sanskrit* Scholars. They indeed studied the Prākṛit languages; and, even if they did not, from the affinity of the Prākṛits to the Sanskrit, they found no difficulty for a display of their learning by improving upon several then existing Indian dialects. In doing so, according to the original aphorism of Bhārata, it was necessary "to employ choice and harmonious terms, and an elevated and polished style, embellished with the ornaments of Rhetoric and r̥t̥l.m." It may be then believed that they imitated the best writers with whom they were acquainted; that some authors gave preference to some writers as models for imitation, and others to others; and that some selected old, and others modern authors for their guide;—whilst, perhaps, the same writer in different plays adopted the language of both ancient and modern books. Hence 'the exceeding richness' of the Prākṛita in some of the plays, and its comparative inferiority in others,—and, perhaps, the same differences exhibited in the works of one and the same person. The Grammarians, on the other hand, especially Vararuchi, whom we regard,

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\* Wilson's *Hindu Dramas*, 1 pp. lxiii, iv.



according to Hindu traditions, as one of the 'nine gems' of Vikramāditya's Court, and therefore a writer of comparatively after times,\* were led by different lights. The Prākṛita passages scattered throughout the Hindu dramas, did not afford them sufficient means to obtain an acquaintance with the whole extent of those languages. They found, probably, that one dramatic writer made one class of persons speak a particular dialect, when another put that into the mouth of other classes—thus rendering it difficult even to assign a name to the dialects used. It is also probable that the Grammarians sought in India for, and having found but few traces of, the principal Prākṛit, which tradition represented as a language which "abounded in gems of lofty expressions," and which, as stated in the Prākṛitadīpikā, "is the most excellent form of speech" took for their guide a then existing dialect of Mahārāstra.

This was probably a *modification* of the Pālī. For, from the account of Fa Hiam, it would seem that Buddhism had flourished in *Mūtra* from a very early period; and, consequently, its language, the Pālī had been early introduced into that country. Yet, from its having been amalgamated with other Prākṛit dialects, and not become fixed as a dead language, as was the case with Pālī in Ceylon, the Mahārāstrī presents a great many corruptions, of which the Pālī is comparatively free.

The following comparative Table of the first thirty words in Vararuchi's Prākṛit Prakāsa, will render this manifest.

samriddhi	samidhhi	samidhhi	'prosperity'
prakata	pakata	paadam	'manifest'
abhijāti	abhijāti	ahijai	'family'
manasvini	manassini	manansini	'wise woman'
pratipad	pātipada	pādivaā	'1st day   ½ mon'
sadrikksha	sarikkha	sarichchham	'like'

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\* See Indische Altthumskunde ii., p. 1160.

prasupta	pasutta	pasuttam	'asleep'
prasiddhi	pasiddhi	pàsiddhi	'fame'
asva	assa	asso-àso	'horse'
ì. hat	ìsan	isi	'little'
pakva	pakka	pikkam	'cooked'
svapna	{ soppa supina	sivina	{ 'sleep' 'dream'
vetasa	vètasa	vediso	'ratan'
vyajana	vijani	viano	'fan'
mridanga	mutinga	muingo	'drum'
angàra	angàra	ingàlo	'charcoal'
aranya	arañña	raññam	'forest'
sayyà	seyyà	sejjà	'bed'
saundarya	sundara	sunderam	'beauty'
trayodasa	telasa	teraho	'thirteenth'
àscharya	{ achchhariya achchhera	achchhe ram	'wonderful'
paryanta	pariyanta	perantam	'limit'
valli	valli	velli	'creeper'
badara	badara	voram	'jujube'
lavana	lona	lonam	'salt'
navamallikà	navamallikà	nò mallià	'jasmine'
mayùra	{ mayùra mora	{ mora mauro	'peacock'
mayùkha	mayùkha	{ moho maùho	'ray'
chaturthi	chatutthi	chotthi	'fourth'
chaturdasi	{ chatuddasi chuddasi choddasi	chuddahi chaddahi	{ 'fourteenth'

Having once identified the principal Pràkrit, with that which approached nearest to it, viz. a dialect of the Maha-

rattas, different from the language which, like the Pali, was once greatly admired, and different also from the language now prevailing in that country, the Grammarians had no alternative but to seek for the Māgadhi in the speech of men living in Magadha. This too, was different from that which is in use there, and also greatly at variance with the original Māgadhi (the Pali) which was only preserved in Ceylon. Hence the discrepancy between the Grammarians and the dramatists—and hence also the difference between the Ceylon and Indian writers in respect of Māgadhi—the Sinhalese treating it as the *Pāli* (or the language of the text books of Buddhism) which found an early retreat in Ceylon, and the Brahmans identifying it with a modification of the same dialect greatly deflected from its original construction.

It would also seem from the foregoing observations that the dialect, which originally received the name of the *Prākṛit*, has in course of time, undergone a vast change in India, and that the patois of the dramas, does not furnish us with sufficient materials for its identification with any known dialect. Probably the *Prākṛit* of the Plays is a modification of the *Pāli*; and it is very probable that the principal *Prākṛit* of Vararuchi is a still greater modification of the *Prākṛit* of the plays. But of this we may be sure—that both have many traces of corruption, and that both have less claims for originality than the Pali. [See my comparative Tables *infra*.]

Another language which may demand attention here, is the so-called *Gāthā dialect* of the Nepal Buddhists. A solution of the difficulty as to its origin, will be given hereafter. In the meantime it is sufficient to notice what we gather as to its style, from the writings of a learned Hindu gentleman\* and of M. Burnouf, viz. 'that the Buddhist literature of Nepal, from which the Sacred Scriptures of Tibet, Tartary, and China have been compiled, is in

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\* Article by Babu Rajendralal Mitra Esq., in the Bengal R. A. S. Journal for 1854, p. 604.

an ugly Sanskrit dialect, destitute of the niceties of the Sanskrit grammatical forms of declension and conjugation, &c. ; that the authors have sacrificed grammar to the exigencies of metre ; that it is in a mixed style of prose and *Gāthās* ; that it bears a strong resemblance to the *Tantras* of the 4th to the 7th Century of the Christian era—and that it appears to be the production of men to whom the task of compilation was assigned without sufficient materials at their disposal. In view of these peculiarities, Mons. Burnouf has pronounced the Nepal sacred scriptures to be a ‘barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrita, Pali, and *Prākṛita* appear to be confounded.’\*

These peculiarities establish its inferiority to the Pali ; and the dialect of the Pillar Inscriptions (which were recorded in the third century of the christian era,) being decidedly posterior to the language of Gotama, I shall, in search of this original *Prākṛit*, next betake myself to the Ceylon Pali, a dead language of antiquity, which came from Magadha, and has been preserved in Ceylon from the time almost of the Buddhistical era. Its identity with the *Māgadhi* of remote antiquity, is not only established by the history of Buddhism, and by the promiscuous use of the terms Pali and Magadh in Ceylon ; but also from the extract above given, of the enumeration of the *śūīl bhāṣhā*, ante p. lxxxiii. Its great antiquity, and high state of cultivation in Ceylon, are made to appear from a variety of circumstances.

It is indeed a remarkable fact that all oriental scholars, who have made Pali the subject of study according to the different, though imperfect, opportunities they have had out of this island, have not failed to perceive something peculiar in the Pali, which distinguishes it from every variety of Sanskrit-idioms.

1. Professor Benfey in his *Ersch and Gruber's German Encyclopædia* p 194, characterises the Pali as ‘the sacred lan-

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\* *l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 105.

guage of the Buddhist writings found in Ceylon and Trans-gangetic India, ..... which is shown both by internal and external indications, to have been the vernacular dialect of central India, and which was diffused *along with the Buddhist religion in the countries above-named*, where it soon acquired the same *sacredness in the eyes of the Buddhists* which Sanskrit possessed, and still possesses, for the Brahmans. This language,' he continues ('though distinct proof cannot yet be adduced of the assertion,) is one of the very oldest of the Indian vernaculars, and was already in popular use at the period of the rise of Buddhism.'

2. Dr. Muir after citing the last authority, states. "But it matters little in what particular province we suppose the Pali to have originated, whether in Magadha, or in some country further to the westward: as the fact remains in any case indubitable, that it represents one of the oldest Prakritic dialects of northern India."—Sanskrit Texts p. 79.

*Obs.*—I may here remark in passing, that if the Pali represents, as it undoubtedly does, the oldest Prākṛit; and, moreover, if the Maharashtrī dialect is, as stated by the writer of Prākṛita-kalpataru, "the root of the other [Prākṛits];" i. e. those of which the Indians had any knowledge, or which have not been lost in India;—the inference is inevitable that the Pali, which had found an early retreat in Ceylon, is the parent of *all* Prākṛits, including the Maharashtrī. But to proceed: M. M. Burnouf and Lassen, who had but few Pali works within their reach, have not however, failed to perceive the nearest relationship of the Pali to the Sanskrit. Though I reluctantly, but respectfully, differ from them in the belief that the former is immediately derived from the latter; yet the facts which those learned writers record, are not without importance or value.

3. 'When the Pali, [say those learned writers in their *Essai sur le Pali*, p. 138] as a derivative from Sanskrit, is compared with other dialects having the same origin, it

is found to approach far more closely than any of those others to that common source. It stands, so to speak, *on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanskrit*, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language.'

4. Dr. Muir, after subjecting the Pali to a comparison with the Sanskrit and Prakrit, concludes by saying, 'from this comparison it will result that the Pali stands nearer to the Sanskrit, and represents a more ancient phase of the vernacular speech of Northern India than is exhibited in the Prākṛit'

And he adds 'It has been demonstrated at length that it (the Pali), in its turn, is more ancient in its grammatical forms than the Prākṛits are, and departs less widely than they do from the Sanskrit.'—p. 137.

I may also remark that entire sentences may be given of, and that whole passages may be composed in, the Pali wherein every word, every grammatical form, and every philological development most closely accords with even the *Sanskritized* idiom of the Brahmans. The following extracts, for example, from the Bhatti Kāvya, which abounds with specimens of the kind, authorize the above statement.

Chāru samīrana ramane

Harina-kalanka kiranāvalī savilāsā

Abaddha Rāma mohā

Velā mūle vibhāvarī parihīnā—p. 77.

'The evening, radiant with masses of moon-beams, and which filled (bound) Rāmā with affliction, was spent on the confines of the shore which was rendered delightful by reason of the (sweet) gentle breeze.'

Gantum Lankā tīran

Baddha mahā salila sancharena sahelan

Taruharinā giri jālan

Vahantu giri bhāra sansahā gurudehan—p. 88.

‘ Let the monkeys, able to sustain the weight of mountains, convey the heavy-bodied rocky chain, so that we may in one line, get to the shores of Lankà, on a bridge constructed on the vast profound.’

To the above facts, all which are important in the consideration of the general question, as to the relationship of the Pali to Sanskrit, I shall add the testimony of eminent Oriental scholars, who notice the difference of the Pali from every dialect which is supposed to have arisen from the ancient Magadhî ;—its difference

1. From the dialect of the rock inscriptions ;\*

“ Now it is curious enough that some of the distinguishing traits of the pillar dialect are just such as are pointed out by the Grammarians of a later day as constituting the differences between Mâgadhî and Pali.” “The [same] language,” Mr. Prinsep adds in another paper† “differs essentially from every written idiom : it is as it were intermediate between the Sanskrit and Pali.”

2. From the Buddhist writings of Nipal ;

‘ They are’ says M. Burnouf, “intermediate between the regular Sanskrit, and Pali—a dialect entirely derived, and manifestly posterior to the Sanskrit. ‡

3. From the Prākṛit dialects ;

‘ The Prākṛits do not represent the derivative form of speech which stands nearest to the Sanskrit ; and we are in a position to point out a dialect which approaches yet more closely to the latter than the Prākṛits do. I mean the Pali, or sacred language of the Buddhists ; a language which is extinct in India, but in which numerous canonical books of the Buddha religion, still extant in Burmah and Ceylon are written.’ §

\* ‘ We have seen (p. 72) that the Pali has some grammatical forms which are older than those of the inscriptions ; and *vice versa*.’—Dr. Muir, p. 137,

† Bengal Asiatic Society’s Journal, vol. vi, p. 567,

‡ L’ Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien p. 105.

§ Dr. Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, p. 65.

4. From the Māgadhi dialect in which the works of the Jains are written ;

‘ On comparing the Mahawanso (says Dr. Stevenson) one of the sacred books of the Ceylonese with the Jain writings, I find considerable dissimilarity between the two dialects ; the Pali approaching much nearer to the standard of the general Prākṛit, and having few, if any, of the peculiarities of the Māgadhi dialect, while the Jain works exhibit them by no means in a slight degree.’ \*

5. From the present language of Magadha or Behar ;

‘ The Pali’ says a writer in the Asiatic Journal, xviii. p. 764, ‘ being generally known by the name Māgadhi, was compared with the modern dialect of Magadh or Behar, and the comparison shews that they essentially differ. In those respects in which it differs from the Pali, it approaches the Prakrit or the sacred language of the Jains.’

6. And from the Māgadhi of the Indian grammarians :—

The following comparative view of the Pali, with the rules given by Vararuchi under the head of Māgadhi, will render their difference evident.

(i.) The first rule of Vararuchi is *SHA SOH SAH*. In the Pali there is no *S*. It has only the dental sibilant *S*. The inapplicability of the rule which states that in the peculiar dialect of Prākṛit termed Māgadhi, ‘ *S* is substituted for *sh* or *S*,’ is therefore, self-evident.

(ii.) *JO VAH*. The occasional substitution of *y* for *j* is no more a peculiarity of the Pali than of the Sanskrit or Sinhalese ; e. g. *yāminī* or *jāminī* in Sanskrit, *yama* or *jāma* Sinhalese ‘ night.’ The usual Pali *nija* is written in the Suttans with a *y*, as *niyan puttān* ‘ own son.’ Instances like these are exceptions, not the rule, in those two languages. But neither in the instance given by Vararuchi, nor in the great majority of Sanskrit words with a *j*, is it changed into a *y* in the Pali. The reverse of what is given by

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\* Kalpa Sutra, p. 132.



Vararuchi may be regarded as the rule. Thus, *jāyate* 'he is born,' is the same in the Pali, and is not changed into *yāyade*. So likewise, *raja* is *rāja*, and not *rāya* 'king'; *gaja* is *gaja* but not *gaya* 'elephant'; *vajra* is *vajira*, but not *vayara* 'diamond.' It is true that in words like *paryūshana*, the Pāli form is *payyūsana*, and not *pajjausana*, as in the common Prakrit. This peculiarity in the Pāli, however, does not indicate a change from *j* to *y*. It is simply the reduplication of *y*.

(iii.) The next rule, CHVARGASYASPRISHTATA TATHOCHARANAH : seems to refer to a nicety in the pronunciation of the palatal letters, which we do not perceive in the Pali; and therefore proceed to the next ;

(iv.) HRIDAYASYA HADAKKAH. This is equally inapplicable to the Pali. *Hridaya* 'heart' never becomes *hadakka*, but *hadaya*, in Pali. So likewise *hrisva* 'short' is not *hadasva*, but *rassa* ; and *hri* 'shame' is not *hida* but *hiri*.

(v.) RYARJAYOR YYAH. The substitution here spoken, of *yy* for *ry* and *rj* may be regarded as the exception (and that of very rare occurrence) rather than the rule in the Pali. Thus *kāryan* 'to be done,' is not *kayye* but *kāriyan* ; and *durjana* 'wicked' is not *duyyana*, but *duggana*, in the Pali. So likewise *virya* 'exertion' becomes *viriya* ; *bhārya*, *bhariya* 'wife' ; *aisvarya*, *issariya* 'prosperity' ; and also *garjana* becomes *gajjana* 'noise'.

(vi.) KSHASYA SKAH. This is again different in the Pali. Thus *rākshasah* 'demon' does not become *laskase* but *rakkhaso* ; nor *dakshah* 'clever' *daske*, but *dakkho*. So likewise, *vriksha* 'tree' becomes *rukka* in the Pali ; *kshamā* *kamā* 'forgiveness' ; *dakshina*, *dakkhina* 'south' ; *kshūra* *khūra* 'razor' ; *kshetra*, *khetta* 'field'. This peculiarity will be found explained in another part of our observations, *vide infra*, § x.

(vii.) ASMA DAS SAU HAKE HAGE AHAKA. The Sanskrit *ahaṁ bhaṇāmi* 'I speak', is the same in the Pali ; and does not become as stated here *hake*, *hage*, or *ahake* *banami*.

(viii.) **ATA IDETAU LUKCHA.** The Sanskrit *etaḥ* (root) *eshah* (nom :) is said to be changed in the Māgadhī into *esa*, and *su* being added to it=*esà-su*; and the latter affix being elided, the *a* in *esà* is changed into *i*, or *e*. This is not a peculiarity of the *Pali*, in which *eta* (root *eso*—nom :) becomes *esa rāja* (which is *esha rājā* in *Sans* :) ‘this king’, and not as in the so-called Māgadhī *Esi laa*; (!!) and similarly *esha purushah*, Sanskrit, becomes *eso puriso* in the *Pali*, but not, as in the Prākṛit Māgadhī, *esà pulise* ‘this man.’

(ix.) **KTANTAD USCHA** : which is rendered by Dr. Cowell into English as follows : *U* is substituted when the affix *su* follows a word ending with the affix *ka*; and also (as we infer from the *cha* of the *Sūt* :) we may optionally use the *i* or *e* of the preceding *Sūt*, or even elide the affix; as *hasidu* or *hasidi*, *haside*, *hasida*, for *hasitah* ‘smiling.’ It is only sufficient to state here that the *Pali* knows no such thing, and that the Sanskrit *hasitah* is in the former simply *hasito*.

(x.) **NASO HO VA DIRGHATWAMCHA** : That is to say ‘*ha* is optionally substituted for *nas*, the affix of the genitive singular, and at the same time the preceding vowel is lengthened, as *pulisāha* or *pulisassa dhane* for *purushasya dhanam* ‘the man’s-wealth.’ The *Pali* form of this is *purisassa dhanam* wherein the Sanskrit inflexion *sya* assumes *ssa*, for the simple reason that the *Pali* dislikes the union of two consonants of different classes. It is further remarkable here that *dhane* of the Prākṛit-Māgadhī becomes *dhanam* (neuter) both in the Sanskrit and *Pali*, in which moreover the cerebral *n* is not used.

(xi.) **ADIRGHAS SAMBUDDHAU.** It is to be inferred from the examples given under this rule that in the Prakrit Māgadhī dialect the vocative inflexion *a* both in the singular and plural number is long. In the *Pali*, however, the termination of the vocative singular may be either long or short. (See *Clough’s Bālāvatāra* p. 19.); as *purisa āgachchha* or *purisā āgachchha*—‘O! man come.’

(xii.) CHITTHASYA CHISHTAH. In shewing the difference of the Pali from the Prākṛit-Māgadhī, it is here sufficient simply to exhibit the Pali forms of the given examples.

*Purushah tishthati* \*—Sanskrit.

*Puriso titthati*—Pali.

*Pulise chishthadi*—Mag : Prakrit.

(xiii.) KRINMRINGAMAM KTASYA DAH. Here again we cannot exhibit the difference of the Pāli from the Māgadhī Prākṛit better, than by placing the given examples in juxtaposition with their Pali forms.

*Kritah* 'done' *mritah* 'dead' *gatah* 'gone.' Sans.

*Kato* — *mato* — *gato*. Pali

*Kade* — *made* — *gade*. Mag-Prāk.

(xiv.) KTVODANIH. The following comparative view of the examples given under this rule, shews the relationship of the Pali to the Sanskrit to be far nearer than that of the Prakrit-Māgadhī.

*Sodvāgatah* † — *kritvāgatah* ‡ Sans.

*Sahitvā gato* — *katvāgato* Pali

*Sahidani gade* — *karidani aade*. Prak M.

(xv.) SRIGALASYA SIALASIALESIALAKAH. The difference between the Sanskrit *Srigāla* and the Pali *sigala* is, simply that occasioned by the absence of the Sanskrit *r* in the latter language. But Vararuchi gives the three following forms into which that word is changed in Māgadhī-Prākṛit; viz. *siā/ā*, *siale*, *siālake*.

*Obs.*—From the above, and many a fact in the history of Buddhism, it may be inferred that there are few traces of the genuine Prākṛit in the existing Indian dialects; that the principal Prakrit, which distantly approaches to the Pali, is a corruption of the latter; that the patois of the dramas is an exhibition of it; and that the Grammarians, who subse-

\* 'The man stands.' † 'Having borne went.' ‡ 'Having done went.'

quently framed rules for the formation of this corrupt idiom, had not the Pali, which had been banished the Magadha country along with the Buddhist religion. It may also be thence inferred that in very early times the Pali became mixed up with pure Sanskrit, as in the Nepal version ; that it next assumed the form of the pillar dialect, and that at last it was reduced to the Māgadhī of the Jains, which distantly resembles the dialect of the grammarians. Buddhism, in a very early period of its history, doubtless, brought the Pali language to Ceylon ; where, having soon become a dead language, its use was confined to the priesthood ; and from the homage the Ceylonese paid to it as the language of the founder of their religion, it remained in the Island unaffected by those changes to which, as a spoken language, it was subjected in its migrations in India. Thus, its philological peculiarities, which will be noticed hereafter—its great age in this Island—its still higher antiquity in Asia—and the absence of any other Indian dialect which bears traces of so close an affinity to the Sanskrit as the Pali, when taken into consideration with the facts, that ‘the Brahmans and Aryas’ had for their *vyavahārika vāk*, a dialect similar to the Sanskrit ; and that that dialect is declared by Buddhagosa, himself a Brahman, to be the Pāli [Prākṛit] ; we may indeed discover a few at least of the grounds upon which the tradition of the Buddhists is based, viz., that ‘the Pāli was the *mūla bāsā*.’

VI. This leads us then to the consideration of the theory with which we have set out—that the Pali is “a sister-dialect of the Sanskrit, being probably derived from one and the same source.”

In considering this subject we notice that the *Brahmans* regard the *Sanskrit* to be of divine origin, and as a direct revelation from their Creator ; and that the *Buddhists* claim

for the *Pali* an antiquity so remote that they affirm it to be a language 'the root of all dialects, which was spoken by Brahmàs, by men before the present *kappa*, by those who had neither heard nor uttered human accent, and also by supreme Buddhas'—

Sà Māgadhī mūla bhāsà  
Nārā yā yādi kappikā;  
Brahmānochassutālāpā  
Sambuddhā chāpi bāsare.

The above is found quoted by Mr. Turnour from the Payogasiddhi; and the following, to the same effect,\* occurs in the

VIBHANGA ATTHAKATHA.

Tissadatta therō kira Bodhi mande suvanna salākan gahetvā 'atthārasasu bhāsasu katara bhāsāya katemi—iti' pavāresi. Tan pana tena atthato uggahetvā pavāritan; nāpatisambhidāya thitena; sohi mahāpaññatāya tan tan bhāsan kathāpetvā ugganhi: Tato uggahetvā evan pavāresi. Bhāsan nāma sattā ugganhantīti vatvācha panettha idan kathitan. Mātāpitarohi dahara kālē kumārake manchevā pīthevā nipajājpetva tan tan kathaya mārā tāni tāni kichchāni karonti; dārakā tesan tan tan bhāsan vavattāpentu 'iminā idan vuttan iminā idan vuttan'ti gachchante kālē sabbampi bhāsan jānanti. Mātā Damilā pitā Andhako tesan jāto dārako sache mātū-kathan pathaman sunāti, Damilā bhāsan bhāsissati, sache pitu kathan pathaman sunāti Andhaka bhāsan bhāsissati. Ubhinnampi pana kathan asunanto Māgadhikan bhāsissati. Yopi agāmake mahā raññe kathento nāma natthi sopi attano dhammatāya vachanan samuttha pento Māgadhā bhāsa meva bhāsissati. Niraye tirachchhāna Yonian pettivisaye manussa loke deva loke-ti-sabbattha Māgadhika bhāsā eva ussannā; tattha sesa Ottā Kirāthā Andhaka Yonaka Damilā bhāsādikā attharasa bhāsā parivattanti. Aya'meva ekā yathābhuchcha-Brahma-vohāra-Ariya-vohāra-sankhātā Māgadhika bhāsā eva na-pa-

\* Parivattesi sabbopi Sihalatthakatha tada,

Sabbesan mulabasaya Magadhayaniruttiya.—*Mahavamsa*, p. 253.

rivattati. Sammà Sambuddhopi tepitakan buddha vachanan tantin aropento Māgadha bhāsāya eva āropesi ; Kasmā evañhi atthan āharitun sukhan hoti. Māgadha bhāsāyahi tanti arū/hassa buddha vachanassa patisambhidappattānan sota-pathagamane-nevayanche sotena sanghattita matte yeva naya satena naya sahasena attho upatthāti ; aññāya pana bhāsāya tanti āru/hakan pothetvā uggahetabban hoti.

‘Tissadatta thera took up the gold broomstick in the Bô compound, and requested to know in which of the eighteen *bhasas* he should speak? He so (spake) from (a knowledge of those languages) acquired not through inspiration,\* but, by actual study ; for being a very wise personage he knew those several dialects by learning : wherefore, being one of (such) acquirements he so inquired. This is said here (to illustrate) that men acquire a bhāsā (by study.)

‘Parents place their children, when young, either on a cot or a chair, and speak different things and perform different actions. Their words are thus distinctly fixed by the children (on their minds, thinking) ‘that such was said by him and such by the other’ ; and in process of time they learn the entire language. If a child, born of a *Damila*† mother, and an *Andhaka*‡ father, should first hear his mother speak, he would speak the *Damila* language ; but if he should first hear his father speak, he would speak the *Andhaka* language. If however he should not hear them both, he would speak the Māgadhi. If, again, a person in an uninhabited forest, in which no speech (is heard), should intuitively attempt to articulate words, he would speak the very *Māgadhi*. It predominates in all regions (such as) Hell ; the animal kingdom ; the *Petta* sphere ; the human world ; and the world of the *devas*. The rest of the eighteen languages—*Ottā*, *Kirāthā*, *Andhaka*, *Yonaka*, *Damila*, &c., undergo changes ;—but the

\* *Patisambhidaya*—the four supernatural attainments peculiar to the highest order of Arahanta, including *inspired* knowledge.

† *Damila* (or *Tamil*) is the Pali form of *Dramida*, or *Dravida*.

‡ *Andhaka* is the Pali form of *Andhra*, the Sanskrit name for the *Talugu*—see *Caldwell's Dravidian Comp. Gram.* p. 6.

*Māgadhi* does not, which alone is unchangeable, and is said to be the speech of Brahmans and Ariyas. Even Buddha, who rendered his *tepitaka* words into texts, did so by means of the very *Māgadhi*; and why? Because by doing so it (was) easy to acquire their (true) significations. Moreover, the sense of the words of Buddha which are rendered into doctrines by means of the *Māgadhi* language, is conceived in hundreds and thousands of ways by those who have attained the *prati-sambhida* so soon as they reach the ear, or the instant the ear comes in contact with them; but discourses rendered into other languages are acquired with much difficulty.'

Now it is a fact that 'all rude nations are distinguished by a boastful and turgid vanity.' They invent fables to exalt their nationality, and leave records behind them to abuse the credulity of after ages.' They cannot speak of their race, or of their sacred languages without assigning to them an origin the remotest in the world. In 'a spirit of adulation and hyperbole' they exalt them as high as the object of their adoration and worship. This is peculiarly the case with Eastern nations.

Although such extravagantly high pretensions, are by themselves of no value; yet when some of these traditions are partially supported by the concurrence of other testimony, we may by a judicious exercise of our judgments in separating fact from fable, and reality from fiction, receive them, I apprehend, to the extent to which they are confirmed. Let us examine this confirmatory proof.

The term *Prākṛita*, as we have already seen, means 'root' or 'original;' and the Pali is the earliest exhibition of the *Prākṛit*. In this point of view, therefore, the Pali may claim greater originality, if not antiquity, than the Sanskrit, which is confessedly a dialect 'made' or 'done.' In other words, if the Pali, may be regarded as the *prakṛiti*, or an ex-

hibition of the aboriginal tongue, there is nothing in the signification of the term *Sanskrita* to entitle the language for which it is a name, to be considered the source from whence the former is *derived*.

The facts, too, which we glean from history or find from natural causes, accord wonderfully with the import of the terms which we have above given, and with the belief that Pali is a Vyavahārika idiom of the Sanskrit. For, whilst both the languages are fundamentally the same, the Pāli is simpler in its formation, and is more adapted to the vocal organs of men in a rude state of society, who, like children, avoid the sharpness of a union of heterogeneous consonants by the elision of the first, and the reduplication of the second.

These can scarcely be pronounced to be peculiar characteristics of a derivative tongue. For, we know that many nations both of the North and South-Indian class, in their attempts to beautify language, draw largely from the Sanskrit. The Tamils and the Hindus use a dialect full of Sanskrit words; and the modern Sinhalese with a view to beautify language, do not assimilate sounds, and shorten expressions, but *Sanskritize* our ancient simple language.\* This was probably the case with the Sanskrit itself, which has no claims to originality.

The simplicity of the grammatical system in the Pali, as is indicated by the non-use of the dual number, the absence of certain elaborations of simple tenses,† the small number of verbal classes,‡ &c. 'look like the spontaneous substitution of practical to theoretic perfection in actual speech'.§ For, it is a fact consistent with natural events, that the less finished and elaborate system is usually ante-

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\* See specimen in my *Sidat Sangara*, p. xxxvi.

† See my Notes at the end of the First Chap. on Verbs.

‡ Also my notes at the end of the Chap. ii.

§ Professor Wilson's *Hindu Plays*, 1. p. lxx.



rior to that which is more so.\* The presumption therefore is—not that the Sanskrit had an origin anterior to the Prākṛita, by which I here mean the Pālī—not that it received the name of Sanskrit when in a rude state—not that the Pālī-Prākṛit is a derivative of the Sanskrit;—but that the latter is only a more finished exhibition of the Pālī, or of some unknown idiom from whence both have sprung. I may, in justice to the theory of the Buddhists, add, that many of the laws by which certain derived languages may be distinguished, do not govern the Pālī, *e. g.* The Pālī has not rejected case-terminations for particles; and has not adopted auxiliary verbs in conjugation. It is indeed the Sanskrit which may be charged with using auxiliary forms altogether unknown to the Pālī.† For, “the Sanskrit verbs of the tenth class, and all derivative verbs, periphrastically express the reduplicated præterite by one of the auxiliary verbs,—*kṛi* ‘to make’, *as* and *bhū* ‘to be.’‡”

The fact, as remarked by M.M. Burnouf and Lassen, that ‘no grammatical form is to be found in the Pālī, of which the origin [why not say, some traces] may not be discovered in the Sanskrit,’§ far from proving the Pālī to be a daughter, establishes to my mind that she is, like the Zend, a sister of the Sanskrit. It would also seem that no inferences can be drawn by comparisons between the Pālī and the Sanskrit|| on the one hand, and, for instance, the Italian and the Latin

\* ‘I feel bound to concede that, by its greater simplicity of construction and superior facility of enunciation, the Prakrit may easily bear away the palm from its rival as a simple, yet polished and harmonious vehicle of human thought, admirably fitted to be the spoken tongue of a great and refined nation.’—Dr. Stevenson’s *Kalpa Sutra*, p. 137.

† Panini iii., l. 35. ff.

‡ Bopp’s *Comp. Grammar*, ii., p. 841.

§ *Essai Sur le Pālī*, p. 138.

|| “From the facts detailed in the preceding paragraphs (says Dr. Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts* ii. p. 274.) which prove that compound roots have been taken by the Indian grammarians for simple ones, and that old forms have been modified or lost in the modern, or even in the Vedic-Sanskrit, it is clear that that language (especially in its modern form) cannot always be regarded as a fixed standard, according to which the originality of the Latin and Greek [I would also add the Pālī] forms could be estimated.”

on the other ; because the Sanskrit itself has undergone a great change, and the various influences which contribute to the corruption of languages are not the same both in Europe and Asia. And the differences must be great indeed between the languages (*e. g.* Sanskrit and Pali) of tribes who had continued together for several thousand years in the same country, subject to the same influences of literature, religion, and climate,\* and who upon separation have changed their religious faith, and have ceased to speak their respective languages ; and of those (*e. g.* Latin and Italian) of other tribes who have been 'separated for as many thousands of years, living in regions far apart from each other, under different physical conditions, and whose vernacular dialects are subject to the modifying action of different social, political, and religious institutions.'†

Yet it is a singular fact that, in some particulars in which the grammatical forms of the Pali differ from the Sanskrit, they agree with the structure of the Indo-European languages, and of the Prākṛit dialects. *e. g.* There is 'a concurrence of the Prākṛit with the old High German and the Latin of the 2d conj. in this point—that it in like manner has contracted the affix *aya* to *ē*.‡ Compare Sanskrit *mānayaṃmi* 'I honor', Pali *mānēmi* Prākṛit *mānēmi*, Old-High German *var-manēm* 'I despise', Latin *moneo*.'§

<i>Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Pali.</i>	<i>Prakrit.</i>	<i>Old High Ger.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>
mānayaṃmi	mānemi	mānemi	var-manēm	moneo
mānayasi	mānesi	mānesi	manēs	monēs
mānayati	māneti	mānedi	manêt	monet
mānayāmas	mānema	mānemha	manêmes	monêmus
mānayatha	mānetha	mānedha	manêt	monêtis
manayanti	mānenti	mānenti	manênt	monent

\* "In general it appears that in warm regions languages, when they have once burst the old grammatical chain, hasten to their downfall with a far more rapid step than under our milder European Sun."—Bopp's *Comp. Gram.* p. 711.

† "Closely related dialects are known to develop and change at very different rates of progress."—*Pr. Whitney Am. Oriental Journal* Vol. v. p. 352.

‡ Also see Bopp's *Comp. Grammar*, p. 701.

§ Bopp's *Comp. Grammar*, pp. 109, 10. The examples of the Pali in the above table, have been introduced by me.

In regard to these weak verbs, (adds Professor Bopp) which have suppressed the first vowel of the Sanskrit *aya*, and give therefore *ya* as affix, we will here further recall attention to the forms *iga* (*ige*), which occasionally occur in Old High German and Anglo Saxon, whose connection with *aya* is to be traced thus, that the semi-vowel *y* has become hardened to *g* (comp. § 19.) and the preceding *a* weakened to *i*.' Hence the Prākṛit *padhijjai* 'is read', *gamiijjai* 'is gone.'

If the Pali was immediately derived from the Sanskrit, it is sure to have those forms only which the Sanskrit adopts; and cannot possibly know any other forms which her Sisters had taken away, at their separation from the Indo-Aryan speech. The existence however in the Pali of both forms known to the Sanskrit, and forms which her European-Sisters adopt, as in the instances cited under the causal form of the verb,\*—establishes the belief of Dr. Weber, to which I shall hereafter call attention;—'the contemporaneous development of both the Sanskrit and the Prākṛit dialects from one common source, viz., the Indo-Arian speech.'

I may also here observe that among the more ancient Brahmans, none, notwithstanding their partiality to the Sanskrit, have expressly stated the locality† or the source of the dialect called by way of eminence, the Prākṛit. Comparatively later writers do indeed point at Mahārashtri as that principal Prākṛit;‡ but neither Vararuchi nor Bahāma-ha has so stated it. The former who treats of four dialects, says that Paisāchi and Māgadhi are derived from the Saurasenī; and the Saurasenī had its source in Sanskrit; but he is silent as to the origin of the Prākṛit, to the elucidation of which he devotes the largest portion of his work.

\* See my notes at the end of the Cap. iii. *infra*.

† 'No province is assigned however to the principal Prakrit dialect'—Lassen's Inst. Prak. § 3.

‡ Shādbhasha Chandrika.

It is however stated by those who maintain that the Pali, or the principal Prākṛit is a derivative, that the Sūtra (18) at the end of Cap. ix, in which Vararuchi refers the student to "the Sanskrit" for "the rest" or the remaining grammatical forms,\* implies that the principal Prākṛit had its origin in the Sanskrit. This, however, is not the only inference. The fact from which that inference is drawn, is also consistent with the belief of the Buddhists—that the Pāli or the principal Prākṛit is a sister of the Sanskrit. For, if they were, like the Sanskrit and the *vyava-hārika vāk* of the Brahmans, two dialects which had a simultaneous origin, and merely differ from each other in some respects like the Attic and the Ionic; there was no necessity whatever to treat of, twice, the grammatical forms which were identical in both. Having a full and complete grammar of one (the Sanskrit), it was surely sufficient to shew the differences only by which the Prākṛit grammatical forms were distinguishable from those of the Sanskrit. Hence the simple reference—*Seshah Sanskritāt*—to 'the Sanskrit for the rest.'

I have already alluded to the fact that the Sanskrit had been in a state of transition until it became fixed as the classical language of the Brahmans. 'It shews clearly to be' says a late writer, 'the adaptation of some vernacular dialect to the state in which we find it, in order to form a characteristic language.' 'Its style exhibits all the traces of transition from the first efforts of expression to the highest refinements of grace and inflection, and its literature all the gradations from barbarism to sublimity, and from sublimity to refinement.' Some of the older compositions, such as a portion of the Vedas, prove this; for thier style, unlike the poetry of Kālidāsa is rustic and irregular, and 'they are written in an ancient form of the Sanskrit, so different from that now in

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\* It is indeed remarkable that the Pali Grammarian, who has even borrowed technical terms from the Sanskrit, does not refer the Student for 'the remainder' to the Sanskrit, but to the Pali language, as the same is developed in the discourses of Gotama. See Cap. iv. § 36 a.

use, that none but the more learned of the Brahmins themselves can understand them.\*

That the Pali, if it were not the *vyavahàrika vāk* of the Brahmans, had a contemporaneous existence with an old form of language, which has been cultivated to the development of the Sanskrit, appears not only from a comparison of the Pali with the oldest available Sanskrit, viz., the Vedas, but also from a careful examination of the oldest Pali alphabet.

To treat of the latter first : The earliest *records* are by Pali-speaking† Buddhists in an old type of the Nāgarī alphabet; and, judging by its internal evidence, 'it bears every impress of indigenous organization and local maturation.'‡ Although the age of this character is identical with that of Asoka (235 B. C.); yet that the same character had been in use for a considerable time before that date, may be easily believed. Indeed the following description given by King Pukkusāti of the characters in which the letter of his royal friend Bimbisāra was written, clearly shews that the same was the Māgadhi alphabet used in the time of Gotama Buddha.§ So tan pasāritvā 'manāpāni vata akkharāni samasāsāni samapantīni chaturassānī'ti ādito patthāya vāchetun ārabhi. That is, 'when he had unfolded [the gold plate 6 feet  $\times$   $\frac{1}{2}$ , on which the epistle was written] he (observed) that the letters|| were indeed pretty—exact in (the forma-

\* Elphinstone's India, vol. i., p. 72.

+ Or, "Māgadhi, by which name may be considered that dialect which is more ordinarily understood by Prakrit"—Wilson's Hindu Plays, i., p. lxxii.

‡ Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, ii. p. 43.

§ 'The alphabet which we possess, as used by the Buddhists of a couple of centuries later, was that in which their sacred works had been written by the contemporaries of Buddha himself, who died in 543. B. C.—Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, ii. p. 39.

|| This proves that the *cursive* departure from the *square* form should be dated after the Buddhist era; and that the latter was not, as supposed by some, confined to Inscriptions, from its being better suited for lapidary purposes. For, the Epistle of Brihvisara was written with "pure vermilion", a material, which, if 'the rounding of angularities' was known in his time, 'presented no difficulties to any series of curves or complicated lines.'

tion of) their heads—and quadrangular (in shape),—and that the lines were of even tenor; and he commenced to read it from the beginning.’—*Papanchasūdanīya*.

In alluding to the specimens from the Buddhist caves of western India, Mr. Prinsep remarks, “The old alphabet\* appears to be *the very prototype* of all the Deva Nagari and Dakshini alphabets; and nothing in the pure Sanskrit tongue has yet been discovered, preserved in this character; indeed it would be impossible that it should, because, still more than the Pali, the alphabet is deficient in many letters absolutely necessary to Sanskrit Syntax.”†

Col. Sykes, that enthusiastic advocate for the superior claims of the Pāli, has drawn all the inferences which may be drawn from the above facts; and I prefer to set them before the reader in his own expressive language: ‘It is incredible,’ he states, ‘to suppose that the modern Sanskrit could have existed without symbols or a character to express its present richness, force, and beauty. How, then, are we to account for the fact of the modern Deva Nagari resolving itself into the ancient Pali letters, and those letters expressing *only*, not the Sanskrit language, but, the ancient Pali? I cannot see any other way of solving the question, than in the supposition, that at the period the primitive Deva Nagari was expressing the old Pali language \* \* \* \* the Sanskrit itself, if it existed independently from the old Pali, was in the same rude state with the Pali.’‡

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\* ‘This primitive character may well have proved sufficient for all purposes of record, so long as the language it was called upon to embody remained as simple as that for expression of which we may suppose it to have been originally designed and adapted. On the introduction of the Sanskrit element, it was necessarily subjected to previously-needless combinations, and under this and other process, perhaps, lost some of the stiffness of outline, which it may, nevertheless, have retained together with its original literal simplicity among the vulgar, even in the presence of an improved style of writing, suited for more polished literature; as in the existing Orthography of Hindi, contrasted with the elaboration of Sanskrit alphabetical definitions.’ *Prinsep’s Indian Antiquities by Edward Thomas*, vol. ii. pp. 43, 4.

+ Beng. Asiatic Society’s Journal, vi. p. 1043.

‡ See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vi. p. 414.

I return to the language : It is indeed a very significant fact that many grammatical forms of the Pali, which may be distinguished from those of the modern Sanskrit, are identical with some of the *Vedic* peculiarities. This may be rendered evident by a few examples contained in the following notes, taken by me in the course of my studies : and I have no doubt that, with a more intimate acquaintance with these two languages than I possess, the list may be greatly enlarged.

(i.) The Vedas—and I shall here take an example from a portion which is not in metre—contain exceptions to the general rule in Sanskrit, by which a word ending in *e* or *o* when not combining with a following *a*, should cause its elision ; as *Vasishtheadhi* ‘over Vasishtha.’ This is frequently the case in the Pali. Thus, in the *Dhamma-Pada*, *dussilo-asamàhito* ‘a reprobate free from meditation.’ It is remarkable that owing to this peculiarity Pali Grammarians do not make elision imperative in this case.

(ii.) I believe short vowels are rendered long in the Vedas. See Wilson’s Sanskrit Grammar, p. 453. This is also the case in the Pali. Thus, *san rajjati* becomes *sà rajjati* ‘greatly attached.’ See *Bàlavatàra*, p. 14 ; *khantì paraman tpo* (instead of *khantī* short) ‘Forbearance is the highest religious austerity’—*Kachchàyana*. *Evan game munè chare*. ‘Thus, may the muni dwell in the village’—*Kachchàyana*. A long *i* is frequently rendered short in the Pali. Thus in the *Attanagaluvasa*, Chap. i. § 2.

‘Yo bodhisatta gunavà sirī Sanghabodhi.’ Again in the well known ‘Ye dhammà hetuppabbavā’ stanza of the Buddhists, *vàdī* is written *vādī* ; thus,

‘Evan vādī mahà Samano’

Thus also in *Kachchàyana*’s Pali Grammar *Bhó\** vādī nàma so hoti ‘He is named Bho vādī.’†

\* ‘Sir’—a term in the vocative, used amongst the Brahmins ; and *Vādī*—‘speaker’ ; thence a name for the Brahman—‘venerable speaker.’

† These examples are taken from *Kachchayana*, lib i. Section 3.

(iii.) In the Pali as in the Vedas the cerebral *ḍ* is very frequently changed into the Vedic *ṭ* which is also found in the Pali. Thus *gūḷha* 'concealed'; *ḍalha* 'hard'; and the common Sanskrit *ārudha* becomes *ārūḷha* — See *Bālavatāra*, p. 110.

(iv.) *Aduḥshat*, the Vedic form of *adhukṣhat* is in consonance with the Pali, wherein the aspirate dental is changed into the unaspirate; as *idha bhikkhave* or *ida bhikkhave* 'here, O priests' — See *Bālavatāra*, § 24.

(v.) *Ange ange*, would be quite correct in the Pali, and so it is in the Vedic; although in modern Sanskrit the following short vowel should be elided, as *angenge* 'member, member.\*

(vi.) The Pali *ayan so aggi*, which in modern Sanskrit should be written *ayansognih*, is found to agree with the Vedic *ayan so agnih*.

(vii.) Even the phrase *Hari Hari yāhi* in the *Gītāgovinda*, is more in accordance with the Pali than the modern Sanskrit.

(viii.) As in the Vedic Sanskrit, wherein the person plural *bhis* is not unfrequently retained instead of the substitute *ais* (*aiḥ*) which is enjoined after nouns in *a*, the Pali invariably takes the former; as *devebhi* 'with god' *Buddhebi* 'by Buddha'; *rukkebhi* 'with tree.†

(ix.) 'The Prākṛit (says Bopp) has fully followed out the path commenced by the Veda dialect, and changed into *e* the *ā* of *asmā-bhis*, *yushmā-bhis*, as also, in the locative plural, that of *asmā-su*, *yushmāsu*; hence *amhe-hi(n)*, *tumhe-hi(n)‡* *amhesu*, *tumhesu*. Moreover, in Prākṛit, all other *a* bases, as well pronouns as substantives and adjectives, terminate the instrumental plural with *chi(n)*; and thus *kusmehi(n)* 'floribus', (from *kusma*), answers to the Veda *kusumebhis*. Comp. Gram. § 220.

\* The same form of *sandhi* frequently occurs in the Rig Veda; e. g. *deva so apturah*, p. 72.

† The *bh* is sometimes changed into *h* in Pali; as *derebhi* or *derehi*.

‡ The *r* is lost in the Pali.



(x) The substitution of *ya* for *n* before (*u*) the sign of the instrumental case singular, is to be found in the Pali as in the Vedas, but with this difference—that the substitution is confined in the Pali to feminine nouns; as *dhànuvā* ‘by a cow’; *yāguyā* ‘with gruel.’

(xi.) In the Rig Veda, p. 60, *narā* is given for the dual vocative. The Pali, which does not recognize the dual, adopts this in the plural.

(xii.) Again *mitra varunā* (see Rig Veda, p. 63) which in the modern Sanskrit is changed into *mitra varunau*, is in accordance with the Pali.

(xiii.) The gender is found changed in the Vedas, as *mādhos triptāh* ‘satisfied with nectar.’ Here *mādhū* is masculine; and similarly it may be either masculine or neuter in the Pali.—See Bālavatāra, p. 51.

(xiv.) The curtailment of the neuter plural of nouns in *a*, by the omission of *ni*, is as frequent in the Pali as in the Vedas. Thus *khetā* for *khetāni* ‘fields’; *chittā* for *chittāni* ‘minds.’—See Bālavatāra, p. 44.

(xv.) In the Vedas *mri* ‘to die’, of the sixth conjugation is inflected as if belonging to the same class, (the first) to which it belongs in the Pali.

(xvi.) One voice is used for another in the Vedas; as *brahmachārīna michchate* (for *ti*) ‘he wishes for the religious student.’ As the distinction of *ātmane pada* and *parasmui pada* is not strictly observed in the Pali, the above is equally admissible in that language, and the same sentence will serve as an example.

(xvii.) In the *ātmane pada*, the initial *tā* of a termination is rejected in the Vedas, as *dakshina tak saye* (*sete*) ‘he sleeps on his right side.’ So likewise in the Pali the above sentence may be correctly rendered thus; *dakkhina to saye* (*sayeyya* or *sayetha*).—See Bālavatāra, p. 104.

(xviii.) In the modern Sanskrit the infinitive is *tum*; but the Vedic shows different forms, amongst which we have *tave*, which, as well as *tum*, is found in the Pali. Thus the

Vedic *kàrtave* 'to do' becomes *kàtave* in the Pali.—See *Bàlavatàra*, p. 121.

(xix.) The Pali past participle *pìtvàna* 'having drunk' is nearer the Vedic *pìtvānan*.—See Wilson's *Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 477.

(xx.) "From the researches of M.M. Kuhn\* and Benfey,† observes Dr. Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*, p. 168, 'it appears that many words, which in modern Sanskrit are only of one, two, or three, &c., syllables, have in the Veda to be read as of two, three, or four, &c. syllables, i. e. as of one syllable longer, in order to make up the full length of the lines required by the metre employed by the Vedic poets. Thus *tvam* has to be read *tuam*; *vyushtan* as *viushtan*; *turyam* as *turiyam*; *martyàya* as *martiàya*; *varenyam* as *vareniam*; *amàtyam* as *amàtiam*; *śvadhvaram* as *suadhvaram*; and *svastibhih* as *suastibhih*. Now as this mode of lengthening words is common in Prākṛit, it would appear that the Prakrit pronunciation agrees in this respect with that of the *old* Sanskrit, in contradistinction to the more recent.'

Such are the relations which the oldest Sanskrit now accessible to us, bears to the Pali; and it must be borne in mind that the former is (1) a modification of two sorts of language, the *Vedic* or the sacred Sanskrit, and the *vyavahārika* or the *Vernacular*;—that (2) the vernacular, or the 'current' language of the Brahmans was in course of time assimilated to their *Vedic* Sanskrit;—and (3) that the Vedas themselves have been tampered with, so that whilst they received additions and mutations in point of substance, the language itself has indeed undergone a considerable change in point of form. We have thus no truthful evidence of the normal development of the Vedic Sanskrit, and which, if we had, might, perhaps, exhibit that many other forms of

\* *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii., 80.

† *Sanskrit Grammar*, Introduction, p. liii., ff.

the Pali, which are distinguishable from their corresponding forms in the Sanskrit, were at one time as much identical with the Anti-Vedic, as several remnants of the Vedic forms are decidedly the same in the Pali. A few words may however be deemed necessary in support of the above propositions ; and

1. *That the Brahmans had two kinds of language.* It is a well known fact in the East generally, that nearly every nation has a book-dialect and a vernacular speech. Take, for instance, the Sinhalese. Our vernacular language is generally without the contrivance of *Sandhi* and *compounds* ; whereas the dialect in which our books are written cannot be understood without much reflection, and, in some cases, without a Commentary. The case was doubtless the same with the Sanskrit. Its refinement and development are such that no one can reasonably conclude that it was ever the *spoken* language (*vyavahàrikavāk*) of the Brahmans ; yet from several passages in the Sanskrit literature, the colloquial use of a modified form of the Sanskrit may be concluded. It would thence seem that their language was two-fold. A passage that we have already quoted (*ante* p. lxxxviii.) from the earliest Veda, sets this beyond doubt.

2. The development of the existing Sanskrit, other than the *Vedic*, indeed proves, that the *Vyavahàrika vāk* has been so assimilated to their sacred language, that—*vires acquirit eundo*—it has received additional refinement in its progress.

“The language of the Vedas (says Pr. Whitney) is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all departments : euphonic rules, word-formation and composition, declension, conjugation, syntax. Without entering into any specification of them, which would extend this paper beyond its proper limits, it will be enough to say here that they are partly such as characterize an older language, consisting in a greater originality of forms

and the like, and partly such as characterize a language which is still in the bloom and vigor of life, its freedom untrammelled by other rules than those of common usage, and which has not, like the Sanskrit, passed into oblivion as a native spoken dialect, become merely a conventional medium of communication among the learned, been forced, as it were, into a mould of regularity by long and exhausting grammatical treatment, and received a development which is in some respects foreign and unnatural."\* If it may be established that the Vedas were altered, it may indeed be concluded that the *anti Vedic* forms had been greatly different from the Vedic. This leads to the consideration,

3. *Were the Vedas altered by Brahmans?* Professor Wilson, in his Review of Professor Max Muller's valuable work on *Sanskrit Literature*, thus notices the subject.

"The first and most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the hymns of the Vedas, whatever may be their relative antiquity, whether twenty or twelve Centuries B. C., is that the religion which they inculcate is not that of the Hindus of the present day. The Brahman, who from the time of the code of Munu as we have it, had arrogated to himself the attributes of a god upon earth, is in the Veda only among seven, or even of sixteen priests, acting as a sort of master of the ceremonies, but not invested with any superior rank or authority. Of the distinction of caste, all the indications are faint and uncertain, with one exception—that of a remarkable hymn in the 10th Mandala, the tenor and style of which place it indisputably in a comparatively recent stage, and bring it at least to the Brahmanic period, by which time we know that the Brahmanical system had been organized. There is no mention of temples nor of public worship; the ceremonial is entirely domestic, and so far the formulæ, the language of the Suktas, still constitute the liturgy of the domestic rites of the Hindus. It is very doubtful if image

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\* American Oriental Journal, iii., pp. 296-7.

were known, although mention of personal peculiarities, as of the handsome jaws of Indra, might be suggested by a sculptured representation of him. Something else may, however, be meant; but the great feature of difference is the total absence of the divinities, both nomina and numina, who have for ages engaged, and, to a great degree engrossed the adoration of the Hindus. We have no indications of a Triad, the creative, preserving, and destroying power; Brahma does not appear as a deity, and Vishnu, although named, has nothing in common with the Vishnu of the Purāṇas; no allusion occurs to his Avatars. His manifestation as Krishna, the favorite divinity of the lower classes, for some centuries at least, does not appear. As a divinity Siva is not named, nor is his type the Linga ever adverted to. Durgā and her triumphs, and *Kali* whom the 'blood of man delights a thousand years,' have no place whatever in the hymns of the Vedas. These differences are palpable, and so far from the Vedas being the basis of the existing system, they completely overturn it. It would be an interesting subject of inquiry to discover when and by what means the vast mass of the modern mythology of the Hindus sprang into existence and attained a circulation throughout India.\*

The Buddhists enlighten us on this subject: and the following extracts show that not only were additions made to the Vedas, but that the Vedas themselves which are said to have been originally composed in accordance with the Buddhist doctrines of Kassapa, a so-called predecessor of Gotama, were in after times altered by the Brahmans.

In the *Ambatta Suttan*, Gotama declares that the *mantas* of the Brahmans (which are identified with the Vedas by the Commentators) were compiled by Attaka (a) Vāmaka, Vāmadēva, (a) Vessāmitta, (a) Yamataggi, Angīrasa, (b) Bhāradvāja, (a) Vāsettha, (a) Kassapa (b) and Bhagu. (b) †

\* Edinburgh Review No. 228, pp. 381-2.

† All these names are also given in the *Abhidanapadīpika*. Some of them are the Rishis of the Rig-Veda.—See Max Muller p. 44 note. Names marked with an (a) may be identified with those given in Muller's *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 42; and for those marked with (b) See Max Muller, p. 378.

Te kira dibbena chakkhunà oloketvā parūpaghātan akatvā Kassapa sammā sambuddhassa pāvachanēna sahā sansandhetvā mante ganthesun. Aparā' paran pana Brahmanā panāti pātādini pakkhi pitvā tayo vede bhinditvā Buddha vacchane saddhin viruddhe akansu.—*Sumangala Vilāsinī*.

'Those sages after obtaining\* the supreme discourses of Kassapa Buddha, through the medium of their divine eyes, compiled the Manta conformably to those discourses, without the mention of tormenting (sacrifices.) The Brahmans in course of subsequent times, however, set aside the three Vedas, and made (a different compilation) by departing from the words of Buddhism, and introducing (an authority for) life-slaughter &c.'

Tīsu vedesū-ti ādisu Irubbeda Yajubbeda Sāma-veda sankhātesu tesu vedesu : tayo eva kira vedā Attakādīhi dhammikehi isihi lokassa sagga magga bhāvan' atthāya kathā ; tenevahi tayotī vuchchanti. Athabbana vedo pana pachchā adhammikehi Brāhmaṇeṇi pāna vādhādi atthāya kato, purimesucha tīsu vedesu teheva dhammika yājayo apanetvā yāga vadādi dipikā adhammika sakhā pakkhittā-ti veditabbā.

'*Tīsu Vedesu* i. e. the three Vedas called Irubbedda (Rig Veda.)' Yajubbēda (Yajur), and Sāma Veda. These three Vedas were made by Attaka, and other religious sages for the attainment of the path of heaven by mankind : they are therefore called 'three.' The Athabbana (Atharvan) Veda, however, was since made† by irreligious (wicked) Brahmans with a view to introduce life-slaughter (animal sacrifices). Moreover, be it known, that they themselves introduced into the first mentioned Vedas, irreligious branches which proclaim sacrificial torments &c., after expelling virtuous promoters of sacrifices.—*Vimata Vinodana Tīkā*.

I have thus glanced over the peculiarities which distinguish the oldest from the modern Sanskrit—the structure of

\* Lit. 'beholding.'

† See also Edinburgh Review, No. 288, p. 576.

the latter being that which may be regarded as the most expressive and harmonious that has ever been attuned to human utterance."

An examination of Pali Grammars establishes beyond all doubt the affinity which it bears to the Sanskrit (i.) "from which it differs only in such modifications as are exhibited by those European dialects which are most immediately derived from the unknown idioms of antiquity."\*

(ii.) In a review of the Revd. B. Clough's Pali Grammar (see Asiatic Journal for 1827, p. 663) the writer bears similar testimony to the identity of Sanskrit with the Pali. He says, "every essential part of it (the Pali) is found in the Sanskrit. The vocabularies of its nouns and of its verbal roots are nearly the same. The Grammar is also formed on the same model, but is much more simple."

(iii.) Professor Bopp also thinks that "the relation between these two idioms (the Sanskrit and Pali) is nearer than that which subsists between most of the distinct branches of the Indo-European system, and that it may be compared to the degree of affinity which the Latin bears to the Greek."†

(iv.) Fausboll in his Introduction to the *Dhammapada* (p 6.) states the relationship of the Pali or Māgadhī to the Sanskrit, thus: "Inter literas buddhisticas sacras hunc librum antiquiorum in numero habendum esse *ex sermone*, quo utitur, elucere videtur, qui multis in rebus a sanscritico et quidem antiquissimo prope abest, et multum ab eo dicendi genere differt, quo utuntur Sutta prosaica et scholia Buddhaghosæ. Huc pertinent: nom. præ. participii in—*am*, ut *ganayam*, *rodam*; a. pers. plur. præ. medii in—*are*, ut *socare*, *upapajjare*; dat. gerund., ut *netare* *pahātave*; præterea formæ, quales sunt: *karoto* et *kubbato* (*karontassa*) *kāhiti* (*karissati*) al., *arahatam* (*arahantānam*), *sabbhi* (*santehi*), *vaddha* (*vuddha*), *klesa* (*kilesa*), *cetya* (*cetiya*) etc.

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\* See Asiatic Journal, xvii. p. 763.

† Pritchard's Physical History of Mankind, iv. 22.

The weightiest and most conclusive authority on the subject, however, to which I wish to call attention, is contained in the following observations of Dr. Weber, and which I have only seen through the medium of the valuable translations in Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, since these sheets were prepared for the press.

Speaking of the way in which he conceives the Prakrits\* to have risen, Dr. Weber says :—

(v.) " I take this opportunity of declaring myself distinctly against a commonly received error. It has been concluded from the existence (in inscriptions) of Prakrit dialects in the centuries immediately preceding our era, that the Sanskrit language had died out before these dialects were formed; whereas we must, on the contrary, regard the development of both the Sanskrit and the Prakrit dialects from one common source, viz. the Indo-Arian speech, as entirely contemporaneous. . . . For a fuller statement of this view I refer to my 'Vajasaneyi Sanhitæ specimen,' ii. 204-6; and, in proof of what I have urged there, I adduce here the fact that the principal laws of Prakrit speech, viz. assimilation, hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates are prominent in the Vedas, of which the following are examples : *kuta*=*kr̥ita*, R. V. i. 46, 4.; *kāta*=*karta*, (above, p. 30); *geha*=*griha*, (above, p. 40); *guggulu*=*gungulu*, Kātyāy., 5, 4, 17; *vivittyai*=*vivishṭyai*, Taitt. Arany. x. 58; *krikalāsa*, Vrih. Ar. Mā. i. 3. 22.=*krikadāsu*, Rik. i. 29. 7; *purodāsa*,= *purolāsa* (comp. *dasru*=*lacryma*); *padbhih*=*padbhih*; *kshullaka*=*kshudraka*; *bhallāksha*=*bhadrāksha*, Chhandogya, 6. 1. (gloss); *vikirida*=*vikiridra* (above p. 31); *gabhasti*=*garbhasti*, or *garbhasti*; *nighantu*=*nigranthu*; *ghas*=*gras*; *bhanj*=*bhranj*=*bhuj*=*bhruj*; *bhas*=*bras*. . . . Comparative philology exhibits similar phonetic *prakriti*-

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\* " I once conjectured" says Mr. Colebrook, " the Prakrit to have been formerly the colloquial dialect of the Sarasvata Brahmans [see his Essays Vol. ii p. 21]; but this conjecture has not been confirmed by further researches. I believe it to be the same language with the Pali of Ceylon."—Miscellaneous Essays, ii. p. 213.



zings within the circle of the Indo-germanic languages as compared the one with the other." The same writer says in his *Vajas. Sanh. specimen ii. 203. ff.* ; <sup>101</sup> "I incline to the opinion of those who deny that the Sanskrit *Bhāṣhā*, properly so called, was ever the common spoken language of the whole Arian people, and assign it to the learned alone. Just as our modern high German, arising out of the ancient dialects of the Germans, reduced what was common to all to universal rules and laws, and by the power of analogy obliterated all recollection of varieties ; and just as, on the other hand these dialects, while they gradually degenerated, often preserved at the same time fuller and more ancient forms ; so also the Vedic dialects, became partly combined in one stream, in which their individual existence was lost, and so formed the regular Sanskrit *Bhāṣhā*, and partly flowed on individually in their own original (*Prākṛita*) irregular force, and continued to be the idioms of different provinces, in the corruption of which they participated. The Sanskrit language and the Prakrit dialects had, therefore, a common and a simultaneous origin : the latter did not spring out of the former, but rather, being connected by a natural bond with the ancient language, have often a more antique fashion than the Sanskrit, which, being shaped and circumscribed by the rules of grammarians, has sacrificed the truth of analogy for the sake of regularity. The Prakrit tongues are nothing else than ancient Vedic dialects in a state of degeneracy ; while the Sanskrit (or Epic) *bhāṣhā* is the sum of the Vedic dialects constructed by the labour and zeal of grammarians, and polished by the skill of learned men. In this way we obtain an explanation of two facts : 1st, That the very same exceptions which are conceded by grammarians to the Vedic language (*chhandas*) are often found in the Prakrit dialects, being in fact nothing but original forms ; and 2nd, That in

the Vedic writings, forms and words occur which are more irregular than any *Sanskrit* word could ever be ; for as yet no fixed rules of euphony, orthography, or formation existed, —rules which were eventually deducted in part from those very irregularities. All the irregular forms which prevail in the Prakrit tongues are to be found throughout the Vedas. In the latter, the faculty which creates language is seen exuberant in its early power, while in the former (the Prakrits) it is seen in the degeneracy of full blown license, luxuriating wantonness, and at last of senile weakness. Assimilation, the hiatus, and a fondness for cerebrals and aspirates, play an important part in the Vedas, not so much in those portions which are peculiar to the Yajur-veda (which, as forming a transition from the Vedic to the Epic period, or rather itself initiating the Epic period, has also a style of language of a more modern cast, and adapted to a grammatical rule), as in the older forms and words of the Rig-veda, many of which were difficult to understand in the age of the Aitareya and Satapatha Brāhmanas (*paroxarittayah* : comp. Roth. p. li. Nighantavah.) There occur moreover in the Epic poems many words which, however corrupted, have been received into the Sanskrit sometimes with no change, sometimes with very little, from the Prakrit languages in use among the greater part of the people."

I have thus laid before the reader, the facts stated by eminent philologists,—men who enter quite as fully into a comparison of the Grammars, as of the system of words in the two languages,—to shew the difference between the *Pali* and the *Sanskrit* ; and those statements, it would seem, go the length merely of establishing the theory with which we have set out, viz., that the *Pali*, like the *Sanskrit*, is the offspring of an unknown language ; and, whether the cultivation of both commenced at one and the same time or not, that "the former stands in fraternal connection with the latter—not in the relation of descent from it."

Before however dismissing this part of the subject, it may not be out of place here to advert to a few circumstances which point out that the Māgadhi (Pali) had its origin in the Punjab, or Bactria.

Dr. Stevenson remarks that "it seems highly probable that the ruder dialect from which the present Sanskrit has been formed was the spoken tongue of the tribe, who, under Bharat, as they themselves relate, settled in upper India, and afterwards gave the name of their Sovereign to the whole country, which extends from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya mountain."\* The Magadhas, whose language was the Pali, also trace their origin to Bharat. It is hence probable (for, in questions relating to languages we can only deal with *probabilities*†,) that both the Pali and Sanskrit branched off from the same parent stem,—the latter taking a lead in a comparatively civilized country, attaining its present high refinement, so as to tempt men to mix it with their non-Sanskrit tongues on the South of the Vindhya; whilst the former was banished from the land from whence it arose, to different Indian countries, where it assumed the various forms exhibited by the Jaina dialects and the Mahārāstri‡ of the Grammarians, and to our own "utmost Indian Isle, Taprobane," where alone it has become a dead language.

Another circumstance is deserving of attention. Tradition, which is after all the best evidence on these matters, says that the Māgadhi was the language of Saurasena,§ on the banks of the Yamunā, close upon Mathura.¶ The

\* Kālpa Sūtra, pp. 132—3.

† "There are no data from which the original formation of any one language can be ascertained; and consequently all opinion on the subject must rest entirely on conjecture."—*Asiatic Journal*, xxi., p. 653.

‡ "There is so close an affinity between the primary dramatic dialect, and the Pali, as to leave scarcely any doubt of their being originally identical."—*Professor Lassen's Institutiones Prakriticæ*.

§ Prakrit Prakāsa, Sec. xi. § 2.

¶ Lassen's *Int. Prakrit*, § 3.

language of Saurasena\* is also called Prākṛit by the Brahmans; and they treat *Māgadhī* under the same name, and place it in the same class with *Panchāla*, or the language of Punjab,† by which we understand the Zend. It is also clear that the Sanskrit Brahmans had also come from Bactria,‡ and that several languages found in that locality, for instance the Persian, the Phelevi, and the Zend,§ are more nearly related to the Sanskrit than her Indo-European sisters. On this subject, the erudite editor of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal (see vii. p. x.) remarks: "The history of India had been traced back to the period before the invasion of Alexander, and had been verified at each step by coins and by inscriptions; but the language of *Bactria* and of *Persia*, at the period of that Conquest, was still insufficiently ascertained. The Bactrian alphabet was already more than half discovered through the comparison of letters upon coins with bilingual superscriptions. Several inscriptions, as obtained from the Topes excavated, or as forwarded by travellers from within the ancient limits of Bactria, were nearly deciphered, so that very little remained to perfect the discovery also [by Mr. Prinsep], and to establish, that the *ancient Pali* language, or something very closely resembling it, prevailed over all those countries."¶ It would hence seem that the Pali, which approaches closely to the Sanskrit even in some of its

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\* "These two (Sauraseni and Maharashtri) dialects stand the nearest to the Pali, though it (the Pali) is decidedly older than they are."—*Lassen's Indian Antiquities*.

↓ See Note, ante p. lxxix.

† "The oldest seats of the Indians, of which we find any mention made, are to be placed in the Punjab"—*Spiegel's Avesta*, i. p. 5. "The earliest seat of the Hindus within the confines of Hindustan was undoubtedly the Eastern Confines of Punjab"—Professor H. H. Wilson.

§ See Professor Spiegel's Discourse referred to in the last note.

¶ "We learn that Pali not only pervaded India, but Bactria and Persia; and that this is no wild theory or hazardous speculation is attested by the very high authority of the Pali Scholar, Professor Lassen, of Bonn, \* \* \* who says, "the legends upon the Bactrian Coins are in Pali or Pracrit."—*Col. Sykes in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vi. p. 425.

oldest forms, had originally started from the same country in which the cradle of the Sanskrit Brahmans is placed, "in or near Bactria."

VII. That the Pali was, at least, in the time of Gotama Buddha, 628-543. B. C., a highly cultivated language of Magadha and several adjacent countries, does not admit of reasonable doubt. We find from numerous works extant in Ceylon, that in grammatical structure and precision at least, it is but very little inferior to the Sanskrit. A language too, which is capable of enunciating discourses so varied and abstruse as the Pitakattāya and the voluminous Commentaries thereon, cannot but be deemed copious. It is rich in expression; and its force and harmony are but one degree removed from the idiom that has been *Sanskritized*.

Professor Wilson in his Introduction to Vikrama and Urvashi, thus speaks of the Prākṛit, regarding it as an exhibition of the Māgadhi. "The richness of the Prakrit in this play, both in structure and in its metrical code, is very remarkable. A very great portion, especially of the fourth act, is in this language, and in that act a considerable variety of metre is introduced. It is clear therefore that this form of Sanskrit must have been highly cultivated long before the play was written."

If such is the case as respects the Prākṛit of a period nearly three centuries after the Buddhist era, a higher refinement ought certainly to be accorded to the Pāli, the language of the time of Gotama.\* The presumption is therefore irresistible, that it had been highly cultivated very long before the age of Gotama.

I have already adverted to the dynasty of the Māgadha kings, which commenced from the war of the "Maha Baharata," an event involved in the Mythological obscurity of the past; and it is also therefore to be presumed, that their

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\* The Rev. F. Mason of Burmah says:—"I do not think that the Pali is quite understood yet. \* \* Pali is much more copious than the *Sarans* are aware though not to be compared with the Sanskrit,"—*Amer. Or. Journal*, ii. p. 336.

language is of as great an antiquity as their kingdom is certainly older than the written Vedas.

"But in very truth," says Hodgson, "the extant records of Buddhism, whether Sanskrit or Prākṛit, exhibit both languages in a high state of refinement."\* If this be true of the Prākṛit, it is undoubtedly so of the Pali,—“a rich, refined, and poetical language of the land in which Buddhism as promulgated by Sākya or Gotama had its origin, at which period it was a highly refined and classical language.”†

When therefore we consider the high state of refinement, to which the Pali had in very early times attained as a language,—its copiousness, elegance, and harmony, combined with its high antiquity, and its comparative simplicity, both verbally and grammatically,—its relationship to the oldest language of the Brahmans, from which their present dialect has been *Sanskritized*,—its claims to be considered the Vyavahārika vāk of the Brahmans to which the Rig Veda refers,—its concurrence with some of the Indo-European languages, in some forms which differ from the Sanskrit,—its identification with the only original Prākṛita dialect, which was “similar to the Sanskrit”,—the absence of any statement in old Brahman writers to the effect that that Prākṛita dialect was a derivative of the Sanskrit,—the great improbability of a derivative being denominated the [prakṛiti] Prākṛita,—the palpable inaccuracy of the definition by which in modern times, it is called “the derived, the vulgar, or the ungrammatical”—the absence in it of many a peculiarity which distinguishes derivative tongues,—and the probability that it had issued from the same ancient seat (Bactria or Punjab) from whence the Sanskrit itself had taken an easterly direction,—I believe it may be concluded that the Pali and the Sanskrit are, at least, two dialects of high antiquity, contemporaneously derived from a source, of which few, if any, traces can be discovered at the present day.

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\* Bengal Asiatic Journal, vi., p. 686,  
 † Turæour's Mahāvansa.

To the above remarks on the relationship of the Pali to the Sanskrit, I had originally intended to add a brief sketch of the progress of Buddhism in the East, along with the Pali language, with which the former is inseparably connected. But the great difficulties which I have experienced in printing, have compelled me to reserve the subject for a future publication. For the same reason I have given the Text in Sinhalese characters. If, however, I should be permitted to complete the translation of the remaining seven books of Kachchâyana's Grammar, with which I am now engaged, I hope to be able to forward to my publishers in England, a complete edition, including the matter which has been reserved, together with the Text, in Roman characters.

Of the work now submitted, with great diffidence, to the European public, I have little to say, beyond expressing a hope that they will not severely judge of this my first attempt at translating from the Pali into English, and transferring, what may be termed "algebraic aphorisms" into intelligible phraseology. I am sensible that there are many errors, of omission and commission, in the translation; but they are such as I could not avoid. For, though living at "the very fountains of Pali literature," I have, nevertheless, been unable to consult a single friend, either as to the choice of my language or the correctness of my renderings into English. I have indeed had much assistance from native Pandits, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, but none of them possess a sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to rectify an incorrect translation. The numerous *Tikàs* and Comments, again, to which I have had access, being entirely in Sinhalese, could not afford any greater help than I have derived from the Pandits. The only European Pali Scholar in this Island, I mean the Rev. D. J. GÖGERLY of the Wesleyan Mission, who had "cheerfully" promised to assist me in my labours, and to revise my translation, was,

unfortunately, removed by death, at the very period when I desired to avail myself of his invaluable advice.

As to the deficiencies of my language, I believe it is unnecessary to offer any apologies,—for, I have no doubt, the European reader will make great allowances for the shortcomings of one who cannot claim the English as his native tongue.

The errors of the press are far too numerous to be passed over in silence. I believe few persons in this Island are ignorant of the difficulties which an Author has to contend with in publishing his works on Oriental literature in Ceylon.—Witness the Mahavansa, whose learned translator was obliged to append no less than thirty-five closely printed quarto pages of corrections. Referring to my own work, I may be permitted to remark, that the Compositors in Ceylon entertain an aversion to handling a MS. containing Pali or Sanskrit passages written in Roman characters, and especially with diacritical marks. Indeed it was with great difficulty that the men in one of our printing establishments could be induced to undertake this work, or, when undertaken, to continue it. From the universal inattention in Ceylon to the orthography of Oriental words and names, they sometimes took it upon themselves to set aside my spelling, and to adopt their own : and this, I need hardly remark, has entailed much labour in the correction of the press. It will scarcely be credited, that for the correction of these errors, I have often had to revise six or seven proofs of one and the same sheet. Even with such labour, and with all the vigilance I could bestow, it has been impossible to avoid a great many errors, which have rendered it necessary to add rather a copious list of Errata. My absence too, from Colombo, and from my library, during the whole of the period during which this work was going through the press, has added not a little to my difficulties.



These remarks, however, apply to the Introduction. The Grammar, which is comparatively free from errors, has been printed in the Wesleyan Mission Press, whilst its Translation, and the Appendix, have received the invaluable supervision of Mr. SKEEN, the Government Printer, at whose establishment they were printed.

In the Introduction and the Translation, I have adopted the following scheme of orthography, which will be found to approach closely the system adopted by Sir WILLIAM JONES.

## VOWELS.

अ	आ	इ	उ	ऋ	ॠ	ए	ओ
a	ā;	i	ī;	u	ū;	e	o

## CONSONANTS.

Gutturals—	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	न
Palatals —	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ	न्
Linguals —	ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	न्
Dentals —	त	थ	द	ध	न	
Labials —	प	फ	ब	भ	म	
य, र, ल, व, श, ह, ळ, ण, म	य	र	ल	व	श	ह

Owing however to the absence of some of the accented letters, such as *t̄*, *d̄*, *l̄*, &c., I have been obliged in printing this work to deviate from the above system; and to adopt *italics* in their stead. This substitution again, has not been uniformly attended to by the printer; whilst I myself have failed to pay any attention to the difference of *n̄* *n̄* *n̄* and *m*, all which will be found expressed by an unaccented *n̄*.

It only remains for me to acknowledge the assistance which I have received in the course of this publication; and here I cannot adequately express the sense of my obligations

to my Pandit, BATUVANTUDAVE, who has assisted me during a considerable period of time which has been devoted to the translation of the following sheets, and the extracts in the Introduction. I have, with his permission, given expression to a few opinions of my own, upon which, from religious differences and the dissimilarity of our education, and other causes, agreement was found impossible. But, whenever we differed, it is but right to state that I did not hastily reject his views without first devoting my best and most serious attention to them.

In the collection of materials for this rather lengthy introduction, the reader will perceive from the Notes and Annotations, the extent of assistance which I have received from the published works of Colebrooke, Wilson, Max Muller, Ballentyn, Muir, Burnouf, Lassen, Weber, Spiegel, Goldstucker, Fausboll, &c.; and I must not omit also to state that I have been greatly assisted by several learned Buddhist priests, especially SUMANGALA of Hickkaduwa, to whom my best thanks are due.

It is impossible to pass over, without due acknowledgement the useful hints and information I have obtained from Mr. J. R. BLAKE, in the course of frequent conferences on the subject of Oriental literature, and also the still more valuable translations which he has made for me from several German and French writers.

I cannot conclude more appropriately than with the words of one\* in the same field of labour in which I am engaged, and who has less reason than myself to say, "*et nunc haec folia non sine justo timore in lucem emitto, quæ, si non omnino displicuerint viris doctis, jam operae pretium factum esse censebo.*"

JAMES ALWIS.

\* Professor Spiegel's Kammavacha.

# KACHCHĀYANA'S GRAMMAR.

## LIB. VI.—ON VERBS.\*

Learned sages, by the ship of comprehensive wisdom, cross the ocean of verbs (filled with) the water of radicals; (abounding with) the fishes of Vikarana,† Augment, and Tenses; (having) the current of Elision, and Anubandhas;‡ (foaming with) the billows of Ajjatanī;§ (and bounded by) the shore of Investigation.||

Hear ye my comprehensive words on Verbs, which, diffused with beautiful adornments, I, after saluting the perfect Buddha of infinite knowledge, do declare so that they may be easily mastered.

\* In the Grammatical systems of the East, the Verb constitutes the most important as well as the most difficult section. I have, therefore, selected this for translation; and have occasionally added a few notes shewing the relation in which the Pali Verb stands to the Sanskrit, and the Prakrit.

† The vowel or syllable intervening between the base and the Affix in the several conjugational classes in the Pāli.

‡ Certain supernumerary letters which denote the class or conjugation in which the verb is inflected, or intimate the peculiarities to which each single verb is subject in its inflections.

§ Ajjatanī—See note at the end of this Chapter. As the present tense is more frequently used than the past; so, of the past tenses, the *present-perfect* (Ajjatanī) is of more frequent occurrence in the Pāli. It is thence denominated, 'a wave in the ocean of verbs.'—See Clough's *Bālavatāra*, p. 106.

|| Lit. Attha vibhāga—'investigations of sense.'

## CAP: I.

1. Now,\* of the terminations the first six are Parassapada.

a. Now of all the terminations, every first six terminations are named Parassapada.†

*Ex. ti, anti; si, tha; mi, ma.*

Q. Wherefore the term Parassapada? 'The Parassapada [mark]‡ the Agent.'§

2. The last are Attanopada.

a. Of all the terminations every last six terminations are named Attanopada;|| that is to say:—

*Ex. te, ante; se, vhe; e, mhe.*

Q. Wherefore the term Attanopada? 1 'The Attanopada (mark) ¶ the action and the object.' ¶

\* The stanza given in the text, as a note to 'atha,' is supposed by some to be the interpolation of a Commentator to explain the force of that particle with which this chapter opens. It would also seem that Kātyāyana has also given a similar explanation—'Om and atha are both used in the beginning of Chapter, &c.,' *Indische Studien*, iv. p. 103. In the words of the Pāli text: 'atha is used in the beginning of a Chapter, and as a word of benediction, completion, emphasis, and as an inceptive particle.'

† 'Words for another.'

‡ The words within brackets have been supplied from Commentaries and other sources.

§ *Seshāt kartari parasmaipadan*—Pāṇini, lib. 1, Cap. iii. § 78.

|| 'Words for one's self.'

¶ The two systems of inflection—the first conveying a transitive sense, and the action passing parassa 'to another;' and the second bearing a reflexive sense, and the action reverting attano 'to one's self'—may be regarded as Voices. Although the Pāli, like the Prākṛit, does not preserve this distinction to the same extent that the modern Sanskrit does; yet the former agrees in this respect with the *Vedic*-Sanskrit, wherein one Voice is used for another: as, *brahmachārīna michchhate* (for *ti*.) 'He wishes for the religious student.' In the Pāli the above change is also admissible, and the foregoing sentence equally serves as an example. Again in the *ātmanepada* the initial *ta* of a termination is rejected in the Vedas, as *dakshinataḥ saye* (*sete*) 'He sleeps on his right side.' So likewise in the Pāli, wherein the last sentence may be thus rendered—*dakkhinato saye* (*sayeyya* or *sayetha*.) See *Bālayatāra*, p. 104.

### 3. Each two, the Pathama,\* Majjhima, and Uttama.†

a. Of all the above terminations, both in the Parassapada and Attanopada, each (set of) two is named the third, second, and first person (respectively.) That is to say;

*Ex. ti, anti*—Third persons.

*si, tha*—Second persons.

*mi, ma*—First persons.

In the Attanopada likewise, [thus:]

*te, ante*—Third persons.

*se, vhe*—Second persons.

*e, mhe*—First persons.

So likewise every where.

Q. Wherefore the terms 'third, second, and first persons'?

(To shew that the affixes of) the third person should be used, when a *nāma*,‡ [whether] expressed (or not), agrees with the verb; (the affixes of) the second persons, when *tumha*; and (those of) the first, when *amha*.§

### 4. In speaking of all by one, the first person.

a. In speaking of all the three persons, viz., the first, second, and third by one (verb) the highest (or first) person should be adopted. ||

\* Eastern writers begin with the third person, and therefore call it the *pathama* or 'first;' they treat of the second next, and name it the *majjhima* or 'the middle,' and the first they designate *uttama* 'the highest or chief.' In the above translation, to avoid confusion, I have used the terms ordinarily employed in European systems, viz., the third, second, and first persons.

† In Pāṇini, this same rule is merely adapted to the Sanskrit which has a dual number; thus, *Tinas trini trini prāthama maddhyamottamāḥ*.—Lib. 1. c. 4. § 101.

‡ Here *nāma* is used as a generic term for a noun of the third person, as opposed to *tumha* (2 p.) and *amha* (1 p.)

§ Vide *infra*, note to rule 5.

|| This may be thus explained:—When one verb governs two or more nominatives of different persons, the former takes the [plural] termination proper to the first person; but if there be no nominative of the first person, the verb should be made to agree with the second:—as,

1. So cha tvaṇ ahaṇ paṇḥama = 'we cook.'

2. So cha ahaṇ paṇḥama = 'we cook.'

3. Tvaṇ cha ahaṇ paṇḥama = 'we cook.'

4. So cha tvaṇ paṇḥatha = 'ye cook.'

This is also the case in the Murāthi. See Dr. Stevenson's Grammar, p. 140.

<i>Ex.</i> Socha pathati	}	= Mayan pathàma, 'We read.'
'He reads—and'		
techa pathanti		
'They read—and'		
tvancha pathasi		
'Thou readest—and'		
tumhecha pathatha	}	= Mayan pachàma, 'We cook.'
'Ye read—and'		
ahancha pathàmi		
'also I read.'		
So pachati	}	
te pachanti		
tvan pachasi		
tumhe pachatha		
ahan pachàmi.		

In like manner the highest person should be used in the other tenses.

5. The third person when a nàma, which agrees [with the verb,] is expressed, &.\*

a. (A termination proper to) third person is used when the noun (nominative), which exercises government,† is either expressed or not.

<i>Ex.</i> So gachchhati, 'He goes.'	}	[When expressed.]
Te gachchhanti, 'They go.'		
Gachchhati, '(he) goes.'	}	When not expressed.
Gachchhanti, '(they) go.'		

Q. Wherefore 'the Nominative'?

[To distinguish it from the agent or the Instrumental in a

\* Pāṇini lays down the same rule; but by changing the order of persons from the third to the first, thus;—Yushmadyupapade samānādhikarane sthāninyapi madhyamah—Lib. 1. Cap. 4 § 105. Asmadyuttamah—ib. § 107. Seshe prathamah § 108.

† Tulyādhikarana—lit. 'that which has common property, or agrees with one another.' I have rendered this 'the Nominative.'

sentence like] Tena haññase tvaṇ Devadattena. 'By that Devadatta thou art killed.'

## 6. The second when tumha.

a. (A termination proper to) the second person, is used when the nominative tumha is either expressed or not.

*Ex.* Tvaṇ yāsi, 'Thou goest.' } [When expressed.]  
 Tumhe yātha, 'Ye go.' }  
 Yāsi, '(thou) goest.' }  
 Yātha, '(ye) go.' } When not expressed.

Q. Wherefore 'the Nominative'?

(To mark the difference between it and the Instrumental as) Tayā pachchate odano. 'By thee is rice cooked.'

## 7. The first, when amha.

a. (A termination proper to) the first person is used when the nominative amha is either expressed or not.

*Ex.* Ahaṇ yajāmi, 'I worship.' } [When expressed.]  
 Mayā yajāma, 'We worship.' }  
 Yajāmi, '(I) worship.' }  
 Yajāma, '(we) worship.' } When not expressed.

Q. Wherefore 'the Nominative'?

[To mark the difference between it and the Instrumental, as in a sentence like] Mayā ijjate Buddhō, 'By me Buddha is worshipped.'

## 8. As to time.

a. Know that this 'time' exercises an authority (adhikāra.)\*

## 9. Vattamānā (are) the present.

a. The Vattamānā affixes are in the present Tense.

*Ex.* Pāṭaliputtan gacchhati, 'He goes to Pāṭaliputta.'

Sāvattthin pavasati, 'He enters Sāvattthi.'

Viharati Jetavane, 'He dwells in Jetavana.'

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\* This Sutta is supposed to exercise an authority over the succeeding Suttāni.

10. In commanding and blessing, in undefined\* time, the Panchamì.†

a. In the sense of both commanding and blessing‡ without any distinction of time, the terminations are Panchamì.

*Ex.* Karotu kusalan, 'Let him do meritorious acts.'

Sukhan te hotu, 'Be happiness to thee.'

11. The Sattamì, in the sense of assent and inclination.§

a. In the sense of assent and inclination the terminations are Sattamì, where the time is undefined. ||

*Ex.* Tvan gachchheyyàsi, 'Thou mayest go.'

Kimahan kareyyàmi, 'What may I do.'

12. In the unperceived past, Parokkhà.

a. The terminations (which signify) time past,¶ unperceived (by the narrator) are Parokkhà.

*Ex.* Supine kila\*\* eva máha, '[He,] it is reported, said so in a dream.'

\* "Since these moods do not comprehend other tenses under them, but are susceptible of all times,—present, past, and future, it can lead to no embarrassment to consider them as tenses."—William's S. Gr. p. 56.

† This answers to the Imperative and the Benedictive Moods, of the Sanskrit Grammarians.

‡ There is great misapprehension as to the origin of the name Panchamì for the Imperative and Benedictive Moods. The Bālavatāra says, [Panchamì (Sattamì) tyāyan pubbā chariya saññā] that it is a name given by former teachers. But the Mahā Sadda Nīti, in reference to this passage, says, that the Panchamì is so named after some of the Sanskrit Grammarians, such as the Kātantra, &c., which place the Imperative as a fifth tense of the verb. In Pāṇini likewise Let, the Scriptural Imperative, which Professor Bopp says, is confined to the Vedas, and is wanting in the Classic Sanskrit [Comp. Gr. II. p. 951] takes a fifth place in the list of tenses; and, if the appellation of Panchamì has been thence coined, it is reasonable to believe that Sattamì has had a similar origin. But such is not the case, for Lin., the Potential, which is identical with the Pāli Sattamì, occupies an eighth, and not a seventh, place in Pāṇini's List.

§ This is the Potential Mood of the Sanskrit Grammarians.

|| See Bālavatāra, p. 104.

¶ Apachchakka is interpreted to mean that which the senses cannot discern, 'the unperceived,' or 'the indefinite.'

\*\* This aptate answers to the Singhalese *la* or *lu*; see my *Sidatsangarà*, p. 171, § 12. Also my *Introduction to Singhalese Grammar*, §§ 316-17.



Evan kila poràna àhu, 'Thus, it is reported, the ancients said.'

### 13. In the perceived from yesterday, Hiyattanì.

*a.* In [the sense of] time past from yesterday, whether (the same be) perceived or unperceived, the terminations are Hiyattanì.

*Ex.* So maggan agamá, 'He went to the road.'

Te agamù maggan, 'They went to the road.'

### 14. In approximate, Ajjatanì.

*a.* In [the sense of] time approximately (or recently) past from this day, whether (the same be) perceived or unperceived, the terminations are Ajjatanì.\*

*Ex.* So maggan agamì, 'He has gone to the road.'

Te maggan agamun, 'They have gone to the road.'

### 15. When mà combined, all times, &.

*a.* Hiyattanì and Ajjatanì terminations, when combined with mà, are in all the tenses.

*Ex.* Māgamā or Māgamì, 'Let him not go.'

Māvachā or Māvachì, 'Let him not say.'

*Note.*—By the combination of an 'and' [to the Sutta] the Panchamì terminations [are also understood.]

*Ex.* Mā gachchhāhi, 'Go thou not.'

### 16. In the future, Bhavissantì.

*a.* In the future tense the terminations are Bhavissantì.

*Ex.* So gachchhissati, 'He will go.'

Sā karissati, 'She will do.'

Te gachchhissanti, 'They will go.'

Te karissanti, 'They will do.'

### 17. Kālātipatti in an action past going beyond.

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\* See note at the end of Chapter First.

*a.* Kálátipatti \* only in an action past going beyond.

*Ex.* So che tan yànan alabhissà agachchhissà, 'If he had that vehicle, he would have gone.'

Te che tan yànan alabhissansu agachchhissansu, 'If they had that vehicle they would have gone.'

18. The Vattamàna ti, anti; si, tha; mi, ma;—te, ante; se, vhe; e, mhe.

*a.* This appellation Vattamàna is for these twelve terminations;—ti, anti; si, tha; mi, ma;—te, ante; se, vhe; e, mhe.

*Q.* What does Vattamàna imply? 'Vattamàna [express] the present time.'

19. The Panchamì tu, antu; hi, tha: mi, ma;—tan, antan; ssu, vho; e, àmase.

*a.* This appellation Panchamì is for these twelve terminations—tu, antu; hi, tha; mi, ma;—tan, antan; ssu, vho; e, àmase.

*Q.* What does Panchamì signify? 'Panchamì [expresses] command and blessing in undefined time.' †

20. The Sattamì eyya, eyyun; eyyàsi, eyyàtha; eyyàmi, eyyàma;—etha, eran; etho, eyyavho; eyyan, eyyàmhe.

*a.* The appellation Sattamì is for these twelve terminations;—eyya, eyyun; eyyàsi, eyyàtha; eyyàmi, eyyàma;—etha, eran; etho, eyyavho; eyyan, eyyàmhe.

*Q.* What does Sattamì signify? 'The Sattamì conveys the sense of assent and inclination.'

\* Kiriyaṭipanne = kriyātipattaṃ. Pāṇini lib. 3. Cap. 3. § 139. In the Sinhalese Commentary to the Bālavatāra, this is defined to be 'the uncertain or the doubtful assertion of an action.' It may be translated the 'Conditional.'—See Laghukaumudī, p. 161-2.

† i. e., without any distinction of time.

21. The Parokkhà; a, u; e, ttha; a, mha; —ttha, re; ttho, vho; i, mhe.

a. The appellation Parokkhà is for these twelve terminations;—a, u; e, ttha; a, mha;—ttha, re; ttho, vho; i, mhe.

Q. What does Parokkhà signify? 'Parokkhà (implies) the unperceived past.'

22. The Hiyattanì; à, ù; o, ttha; a, mhà; —ttha, tthun; se, vhan; in, mhase.

a. The appellation Hiyattanì is for these twelve terminations—à, ù; o, ttha; a, mhà;—ttha, tthun; se, vhan; in, mhase.

Q. What does Hiyattanì signify? 'Hiyattanì (expresses) the perceived [past] from yesterday.'

23. The Ajjatanì; ì, un; o, ttha; in, mhà; —à, ù; se, vhan; a, mhe.

a. The appellation Ajjatanì is for these twelve terminations;—ì, un; o, ttha; in, mhà; à, ù; se, vhan; a, mhe.

Q. What does Ajjatanì imply? 'Ajjatanì (expresses) approximate\* [time.]'

24. The Bhavissanti; ssati, ssanti; ssasi, ssatha; ssàmi, ssàma;—ssate, ssante; ssase, ssavhe; ssan, ssàmhe.

a. The appellation Bhavissanti is for these twelve terminations; ssati, ssanti; ssasi, ssatha; ssàmi, ssàma;—ssate, ssante; ssase, ssavhe; ssan, ssàmhe.

Q. What does Bhavissanti signify? 'Bhavissanti (expresses) the future.'

25. The Kàlàtipatti; ssà, ssansu; sse, ssatha; ssan, ssanahà; ssatha, ssinsu; ssase, ssavhe; ssan, ssàmhase.

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\* i.e.—The nearest past.

a. The appellation Kālātīpatti is for these twelve terminations; ssà, ssansu; sse, ssatha; ssan, ssamhà; ssatha, ssinsu; ssase, ssavhe; ssan, ssamhase.

Q. What does Kālātīpatti imply? 'Kālātīpatti (expresses) an action past, going beyond.'

26. Hīyattanī, Sattamī, Pañchamī, (and) Vattamānā, (are) Sabbadhātuka.\*

a. Sabbadhātuka is the appellation for the four, Hīyattanī, &c.

Ex. A'gamā, 'He went.'

Gachchheyya, 'He may go.'

Gachchhatu, 'Let him go.'

Gachchhati, 'He goes.'

Q. Wherefore Sabbadhātuka? '[To distinguish them from] the Asabbadhātuka [which take] i as an augment.†

*End of the First Chapter on Verbs.*

### NOTES.

Whilst in the Prākṛit "the only tenses of the active voice which remain, seem to be the present, the second future, and the Imperative" [Cowell's Prākṛit Prakāsa, p. xxix]; the Pāli has nearly all the tenses known to the Sanskrit, viz: 1 Vattamānā, 2 Pañchamī, 3 Sattamī, 4 Parokkhā, 5 Hīyattanī, 6 Ajjatanī, 7 Bhavissanti, and 8 Kālātīpatti. The first answers to the Present Tense; the fourth, fifth, and sixth to the Past; and the seventh to the Future. The second is the Imperative; the third is the Potential; and the eighth, the Conditional. Thus, the Pāli differs from the Sanskrit merely in the absence of those elaborations, by which the Imperative is distinguished into "commanding" and "blessing," and by

\* Pāṇini, III. 4. 113. Sārvadhātuka 'applicable to all the radicals.'

† For the coincidences between the Rules, &c., of this chapter, and those in Pāṇini; compare Pāṇini, III. 1. 1—30.

which also the Future is divided into the "definite" and the "indefinite." There is, however, some difficulty in reconciling the Sanskrit Præterites with the three past Tenses in the Pāli. This arises from the promiscuous use of two, at least, of the three præterites, both in the Pāli and Sanskrit; and also from the confused definitions of Grammarians.

One of these Tenses, Lit. is defined [see Pāṇini, III. 2. 115.] to be, 'what took place before the current day, and unperceived (by the narrator.)' [Dr. Ballentyn's *Laghu Kaumudī*, § 417.] The introduction of the words, "before the current day," which we do not find in the Pāli definition, adds not a little to this confusion. The *Parokkhā* (*paroksha*, Sans.) as 'the past of any period,' and from its agreement in purport, as well as in its construction by re-duplication, may, however, be identified with the Second Præterite of Dr. Wilkins, and Professor Wilson.

Another Præterite, *Lang*, which is defined to be "the past before the commencement of the current day" [Pāṇini III. 2. 111; *Laghu Kaumudī*, § 450] agrees with the First Præterite of Dr. Wilkins and Professor Wilson; and is identical with the Pāli *Hīyattanī* [*hyastana*, Sans.]; although, I must observe, it does not seem to convey, as remarked by several European Grammarians, and amongst them by Pr. Wilson, "action past, but not perfected." See Wilson's *Grammar*, p. 112.

The remaining Præterite, *Lung*, which is the Third in European Sanskrit Grammars, can only refer to the Pāli *Ajjatanī*; but its definition in Sanskrit Grammars as 'what is past (indefinitely)' [Pāṇini III. 2, 110; *Laghu Kaumudī*, § 462] does not accord with the Pāli definition, nor with the *adyatana bhūta kāla*, given by Dr. Wilkins, as 'the past time of to-day'—p. 651.

According to Pāli Grammarians, the three past tenses in the Pāli, have a clear syntactical distinction, which does not appear

to exist in the modern Sanskrit. [See Bopp's Comp. Grammar, II. p. 729.] Although in the former, all the three tenses express the past; yet they are for three different periods of the past, that is to say;—The Ajjatanì is 'time past within the current day.' The Hiyattani is for 'time recently past before yesterday.' And the Parokkhà, or the re-duplicate präterite, is 'for time past unperceived (by the narrator)' i.e. an action past at a time, of which the senses have no perception; or, in other words, action indefinitely past. See note ¶ at p. 6, supra.

As the Pāli, like the Sanskrit, loves the use of the present tense; so likewise in using the past the former prefers, what is called 'a wave in the ocean of verbs,' the Ajjatanì, which has a *present-perfect* sense. The Bālavatāra lays down the farthest limit of this past time as follows:—

Pachchhimo' tita rattiya' yāmo addham'amussa va

Kālo siyā tvajjatano Veyyākaraṇa dassinan.

'The Ajjatanì tense of the Grammarians is [commences from] the last Yāma [from 3 A.M.] of the previous night, or, its half [from 5 A.M.]'

Thus the Pāli Ajjatanì (adyatana, Sans.) which is regarded as 'the präterite of to-day' or 'action which *has taken place* during the current day,' appears to me to be the "present-perfect," (amavi), in the Latin; and I have accordingly rendered it into English in my translation: and, in view of the other distinctions to which I have adverted, I believe, I am justified in regarding the Hiyattani as "the definite past;" and the Parokkhà as "the indefinite past."

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## CAP: II.

## 1. At the end of verbal, and nominal roots, Affixes.

a. The affixes are at the end of these, (viz.) verbal and nominal roots.

*Ex.* Karo-ti, 'He does.'

Gachchhati, 'He goes.'

[But] kàreti, 'He causes to do' [where] one does, and another bids the doer, *do*; or, [where one] causes the doer.

Pabbatàyati—[as where] 'the Sangha conducts himself-as-a mountain.'

Samuddayati—[as where one] 'acts-himself-like-the-ocean.'

Likewise Chichchitā-yati [as where] 'the Sea (roars) acts-like\* chichchita.'

Vàsittoh—[to express] 'the-son of Vāsitttha.'† In like manner other affixes should be employed.

## 2. Kh, chh, s, optionally after tija, gupa, kita, màna.‡

a. The radicals tija, gupa, kita, màna, optionally take after them the affixes kh chh and s.

*Ex.* Titikkhati, 'He endures.'

Jiguchchhati, 'He reproaches.'

Tikichchhati, 'He cures.'

Vimansati, 'He investigates.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [Because the roots sometimes take other affixes, e. g.] Tejati, 'He sharpens'; Gopati, 'He protects'; Māneti, 'He offers.'§

\* 'Making the noise indicated by chichchita.'

† Gotama mentions Vāsitttha as a Rishi who composed the Vedas.

‡ Tija, 'to endure'; gupa, 'to conceal'; kita, 'to cure'; and màna, 'to investigate.'

§ To words with these exceptional inflections, the writer of Rūpasiddhi assigns different meanings. In the above translation I have adopted his explanations.

3. Also after bhuja ghasa hara supa, &c., in desideratives with tun.\*

a. The radicals bhuja, ghasa, hara, supa, &c., optionally take after them, in desideratives with tun, the affixes kh, chh, and s.

*Ex.* Bhottu micchhati = Bubhukkhati.

[In the sense of] 'He-wishes-to eat,' = Bubhukkhati.

Ghasitu micchhati = Jighachchhati.

[In the sense of] 'He-wishes-to-eat,' = Jighachchhati.

Haritu micchhati = Jiginsati.†

[In the sense of] 'He-wishes-to-take,' = Jiginsati.

Supitu micchhati = Sussûsati.

[In the sense of] 'He-wishes-to-sleep,' = Sussûsati.

Pātu micchhati = pivàsati.

[In the sense of] 'He-wishes-to-drink,' = pivàsati.

1st Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [Because the same words are used in an infinitive form, thus] Bhottu'micchhati, 'He wishes to eat.'

2nd Q. Wherefore 'in desideratives with tun?' [To shew that primitives do not take those affixes, as in] Bhunjati, 'He eats.'

4. After a nominal root denoting comparison to the nominative, àya in the sense of treatment.

a. The affix àya (in the sense of) treatment comes after the nominal root, when it denotes a comparison to the Nominative.‡

*Ex.* Pabbatàyati, 'He conducts himself as a mountain.'

Chichchitàyati, 'It roars like chichchita.'

*Note.*—In like manner should others be employed.

5. And ìya denoting comparison.§

\* The sign of the Infinitive.

† This word is written in all the Pali works Jiginsati, also see Clough's Bālavatāra, p. 111. *Qy.*—Should it not be Jihinsati?

‡ Pānini, III. 1, 11.

§ Pānini, III. 1, 10.



*a.* And the affix *īya* (in the sense of) treatment, comes after a nominal root which denotes a comparison.\*

*Ex.* Achhattan chhattamiva àcharati = chattīyati, 'He treats that which is not an umbrella, like an umbrella = chattīyati.'

Aputtan putta miva àcharati = puttīyati, 'He treats as a son, him who is not a son = puttīyati.'

1st Q. Wherefore 'that which denotes comparison?' (To mark the difference between exact likeness and mere conformation to a model, in which latter case the rule does not apply; as) Dhammamaàcharati, 'He practises dhamma.' †

2nd Q. Wherefore 'treatment'? (To shew that although the verb may denote an identical likeness; yet if it does not convey a continuance of the action, or usage, the rule does not apply; as) Chatta miva rakkhati, 'He preserves (it) like an umbrella.'

In like manner should other (affixes) be used.

## 6. After a nominal root implying self-desire.

*a.* After a nominal root, implying desire for one's self, the affix becomes *īya*. ‡

*Ex.* Attano pattamichchhatī ti = pattīyati.

'He desires a vessel for himself' = pattīyati.

So likewise; vatthīyati, 'He desires raiment for himself.'

Parikkhāriyati, 'He desires Parikkhāra§ for himself.'

Chīvariya, 'He desires yellow robes for himself.'

Dhanīyati, 'He desires wealth for himself.'

Paṭīyati, 'He desires clothes for himself.'

Q. Wherefore the words 'desire for one's self?' [To shew that where the desire expressed is not for one's self, the rule

\* In the Bālāvatāra this is explained to be a nominal root which denotes comparison to [dutiyañtan nāman] 'a noun in the second case' or the Accusative.

† i.e.—'He conforms himself to the duties of religion.'

‡ See Laghu Kaumudī, p. 297.

§ Parikkhāra—theologically, the necessities of life for an ascetic.

does not apply; as] *Aññassa pattamichchati*, 'He desires a vessel for another.'

So likewise should others be used.

7. In the sense of the Causal Agent the Causal (affixes) *ne naya nàpe nàpayà* after the radical.

a. In the sense of the Causal Agent\* all roots take the affixes, *ne, naya, nàpe, nàpayà*; and they receive the appellation of *Kàrita* 'the Causal.'

*Ex.* *Kàreti, kàrayati, kàràpeti, [or] kàràpayati*, 'He causes to do'—[where] one does, and another bids the doer 'do'; or [where one] causes the doer.

*Kàrenti, kàrayanti, kàràpenti, (or) kàràpayanti*, 'They cause to do'—[where] some do, and others bid the doers 'do, do.'

*Pàcheti, pàchayati, pàchàpeti (or) pàchàpayati*, 'He causes to cook'—[where] one cooks, and another bids him 'cook'; or [where one] causes the cook.

*Pàchenti, pàchayanti, pàchàpenti (or) pàchàpayanti*, 'They cause to cook'—[where] some cook, and others bid those who cook, thus 'cook-cook.'

So likewise,

*Haneti, hanayati, hanàpeti, (or) hanàpayati*, 'He causes to kill.'

*Bhaneti, bhanayati, bhanàpeti, (or) bhanàpayati*, 'He causes to utter.'

In like manner should also others be used.

Q. Wherefore 'in the sense of the Causal Agent'? [To exclude primitives, such as] *karoti*, 'He does'; *pachati*, 'He cooks.'

Note--By the insertion of 'the sense,' the affix *la* may be (understood; as) *Jotalati*, 'He causes to glitter.'

\* *Hetu* 'the cause'; but it means here [*yo kàreti so hetu*] 'He who does the act—the agent.' Also see *Pāṇini*, 1, 4, 55. Clough's version of *Bālavatāra* throws no light whatever on the subject. He translates *pācheti*, 'He cooks.' See p. 108 § 149.

8. After a crude noun with the sense of a verb, *naya*, &.

*a.* After a nominal root with the sense of a verb, the affix is *naya*; and it is named *Kàrita*.\*

*Ex.* *atihatthayati* = *hattinà atikkamati maggan*, 'By means-of-the-elephant he-goes-beyond-† the way.'

*upavīṇayati* = *vīṇāya upagāyati*, 'He plays music with a lute.'

*dalha yati* = *dalhan karoti vinayan*, 'He excels in vinaya.'

*visuddhayati* = *visuddhā hoti ratti*, 'The evening is bright.'

*Note.*—By the addition of the 'and' such affixes as *āra*, *āla* are admissible; as *antarārati*, 'He incurs danger;' *upakamālati*, 'He devises a plan.'

9. *Yā* in the substantive and passive voices.

*a.* In the substantive and passive voices, the affix *ya* comes after all the radicals.

*Ex.* *thīyate*, '(it is) standing.'

*bujjhīyate*, 'is known.'

*pachchate*, 'is cooked.'

*labbhate*, 'is acquired.'

*kariyate*, 'is done.'

*ijjate*, 'is sacrificed.'

*ucchate*, 'is spoken.'

*Q.* What is the force of 'the substantive and passive voices'? [By that expression the active voice is excluded; as in the following examples] *karoti*, 'he does'; *pachati*, 'he cooks'; *paṭhati*, 'he reads.'

*Note.*—By the insertion of *yo* [in the rule] the affix *ya* is admissible in other than the substantive and passive voices; as *daddallati*, 'it illumines intensely.†

\* See preceding rule.

† i.e.—Completes his journey.

‡ This exception so far as our observation extends, is confined to verbs indicating the repetition of an act, or its intensity. See Pāṇini, VII. 4, 82.

10. A substitution of *y. v* and the letters of the *ch.* class for it, and the final letter of the radical.

*a.* As exigency may require the letters of the *ch* class, *y.* (or) *v.* may be substituted for it i.e. [see preceding rule] the affix *ya*, joined to the final letter of the radical.

*Ex.* *vuchchate*, 'is said'; *vuchchante*, 'are said.'

*uchchate*, 'is said'; *uchchante*, 'are said.'

*majjate*, 'is intoxicated'; *majjante*, 'are intoxicated.'

*pachchate*, 'is cooked'; *pachchante*, 'are cooked.'

*bujjhate*, 'is known'; *bujjhante*, 'are known.'

*yujjhate*, 'is fought'; *yujjhante*, 'are fought.'

*kujjhate*, 'is provoked'; *kujjhante*, 'are provoked.'

*ujjhate*, 'is abandoned'; *ujjhante*, 'are abandoned.'

*haññate*, 'is killed'; *haññante*, 'are killed.'

*kayyate*, 'is done'; *kayyante*, 'are done.'

*dibbate*, 'is played'; *dibbante*, 'are played.'

11. Optionally the augment of *i* class.

*a.* When the affix *ya* comes after a radical, the vowels of the *i* class are optionally augmented.

*Ex.* *kariyyate* 'is done,' *kariyanti* 'are done'; *gachchhiyate* 'is gone,' *gachchhiyanti* 'are gone.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To shew that the augment is not inserted in a word like the following] *kayyate* 'is done.'

12. And assumes the previous letter.

*a.* When the affix *ya* comes after a radical, the same is optionally changed into the letter preceding it.

*Ex.* *vuddhate*, 'is increased'; *phallate*, 'is fructified'; *dammate*, 'is subjugated'; *labbhate*, 'is acquired'; *sakkate*, 'is abled'; *dissate* 'is seen.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception as in] *damyate*, 'is subjugated.'

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\* This example is put in to shew the promiscuous use of *b* and *v*.

### 13. And likewise in the active voice.

*a.* As (different) substitutions take place [according to previous rules] to the affix *ya*, in the substantive and passive voices; so likewise the same substitutions for the affix *ya* may be adopted in the active voice.

*Ex.* *bujjhati*, 'he knows'; *vijjhati*, 'he pierces,' *maññati* 'he thinks,' *sibbati* 'he stitches.'

### 14. A (after) *bhu*, &c.\*

*a.* In the active voice the affix *a* comes after the radicals of the *bhu*, &c. class.

*Ex.* *bhavati* 'is'; *paṭhati* 'reads'; *pachati* 'cooks'; *yajati* 'sacrifices.'

### 15. After *rudh* &c, with a *niggahita*† before, &.

*a.* In the active voice the affix *a* comes after the radicals of *rudha*, &c. class, with a *niggahita* augment before [the final letter of the root.]

*Ex.* *rundhati* 'obstructs'; *bhīndati* 'breaks'; *chhindati* 'cuts.'

*Note.*—By the insertion of 'and' [to the rule, other] affixes such as *i*, *ī*, *e*, and *o*, are admissible with a *niggahita* before the [final letter of the root]; as *rundhiti*, *rundhīti*, or *rundheti*, 'obstructs'; *sumbhoti*, 'shines.'

### 16. *Ya* after *div*, &c.

*a.* In the active voice the affix *ya* comes after the radicals of the *diva*, &c. class.

*Ex.* *dibbati* 'sports'; *sibbati* 'stitches'; *yujjhati* 'fights'; *vijjhati* 'pierces'; *bujjhati* 'knows.'

### 17. And *nu*, *nà*,‡ and *unà*, after *su*, &c.

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\* This and the following rules are in reference to the several classes of verbal roots.

† Name for the Sanskrit *anusvāra*.

‡ Some Pali writers use this *na* short.

*a.* In the active voice the affixes *nu*, *nà*, and *unà* come after the radicals, of *su*, &c. class.

*Ex.* *abhisunoti* or *abhisunàti* 'well-hears'; *sanvunoti* or *sanvunàti* 'obstructs'; *àvunoti* or *àvunàti* 'strings'; *pàpunoti* or *pàpunàti* 'obtains.'

### 18. *Nà* after *ki*, &c.

*a.* In the active voice, the affix *nà* comes after the radicals, of *ki*, &c. class.

*Ex.* *kinàti* 'buys'; *jinàti* 'conquers'; *dhunàti* 'shakes'; *lunàti* 'cuts'; *punàti* 'purifies.'

### 19. And *ppa* and *nhà*, after *gah*, &c.

*a.* In the active voice, the affixes *ppa* and *nhà* come after the radicals of *gaha*, &c. class.\*

*Ex.* *gheppati* or *ganhàti* 'takes.'

### 20. *O*, and *yirà* after *tan*, &c.

*a.* In the active voice, the affixes *o* and *yirà* come after the radicals of *tanu*, &c. class.

*Ex.* *tanoti* 'stretches'; *tanohi* 'stretch (thou)'; *karoti* 'does'; *karohi* 'do [thou]'; *kayirati* 'does'; *kayiràhi* 'do [thou].'

### 21. *Ne*, *naya* after *chur*, &c.

*a.* In the active voice, the affixes *ne* and *naya* come after the radicals of *chura*, &c. class.

*Ex.* *choreti* or *chorayati* 'steals'; *chinteti* or *chintayati* 'thinks'; *manteti* or *mantayati* 'deliberates.'

### 22. *Attanopada* (mark) the action and the object.†

*a.* The *attanopada* (affixes) are used to mark the action and the object.‡

\* Although by the appendix, '&c.' a class is meant; I have not been able to ascertain that such is the case. Some grammarians dispute the correctness of the &c. here; and they limit the rule to *gaha*.

† See ante Cap. 1 § 2 Q.

‡ In the substantive and passive voices, vide ante §§ 9, 10.

*Ex.* uchchate 'is spoken'; uchchante 'are spoken.'  
 labbhate 'is acquired'; labbhante 'are acquired.'  
 majjate 'is intoxicated'; majjante 'are intoxicated.'  
 yujjhate 'is fought'; yujjhante 'are fought.'  
 kayyate 'is done'; kayyante 'are done.'

## 23. Also the agent.

*a.* The attanopada (affixes) also mark the agent [in the active voice.]

*Ex.* maññate 'he respects' [himself.]  
 rochate 'it brightens' [of itself.]  
 sochate 'it grieves.'  
 sobhate 'it illumines.'  
 bujjhate 'he understands' [by himself.]  
 jàyate 'he produces' [by his own effort.]

## 24. Verbal terminations after radicals and affixes.

*a.* Verbal terminations come after the radicals ending with affixes [beginning] from kh, &c., and ending with the kàrita.\*

*Ex.* titikkhati 'he endures'; jiguchchhati 'he reproaches';  
 vīmāṇasati 'he investigates.'

Tatākan sanudda miva attānam'ācharati = samuddāyati  
 'the lake conducts itself like the sea.'

Puttīyati 'he treats (him) as a son of his own'; pāchayati  
 'he causes to cook.'

## 25. Parassapada, the agent.

*a.* The parassapada mark the agent.†

*Ex.* karoti 'he does,' pachati 'he cooks,' pathati 'he reads,'  
 gacchhati 'he goes.'

## 26. Bhû, &c., are radicals.

\* See ante § 7.

† See Cap. I § 1.

a. Classes of words such as bhû, &c., receive the appellation of radicals.

*Ex.* bhavati 'is'; bhavanti 'are.'  
 pachati 'cooks'; pachanti 'cook.'  
 charati 'walks.'  
 chintayati 'thinks.'  
 gachchhati 'goes.'

*End of the Second Chapter on Verbs.*

### NOTES.

In the Pâli, the roots dhātu) are nearly identical with those in the Sanskrit; and are distinguished into different conjugations, the same as in the Sanskrit, by anubandhas, or characteristic letters affixed to them.

The Prākṛit verb seems to be far less complete than the Pâli; for the former has but one Conjugation, equal to the first in the Sanskrit, though fragments of forms belonging to other Conjugations frequently occur in the Dramatic works. (Pr. Cowell's Prākṛit Prakāsa, p. xxix.)

The Pali forms of verbs and participles, generally, depart less from the Sanskrit than the Prākṛit ones do (see Tables in Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. p. 97, et seq.) In the Sanskrit there are ten Conjugations. To the Pali are unknown three of them, answering to the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th in the Sanskrit.

True it is that Kachchâyana gives (see § 19 supra) another class, at the head of which he places *gah*. But, not only is the existence in the Pâli, of this [eighth] class ignored in the Dhātu Manjusa, but the writer of the Mahā Saddanīti says, that the *ādi* (by which a 'class' is indicated) in the Sutta



above noticed, is a mistake,—which is indeed probable: since, except *gah* it is difficult to discover any other Pali radical which comes under this class, and since also *gah* itself may be conjugated as a verb of the *ki* class.

The seven Conjugations known to the Pali, answer to the first, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth classes of the Sanskrit verb; thus:

Pali class.	Affixes.	Place in Sanskrit.
1. bhû	. a . .	1
2. rudh	. a . .	7
3. div	. ya . .	4
4. su	. nu, na, una.	5
5. ki	. nâ . .	9
6. tan	. o, yirâ .	8
7. chur	. ne, naya .	10

The writer of the Dhātu Manjusa remarks that the second, third, and sixth Conjugations of Sanskrit Grammarians are comprehended in the first of the Pali verbs, which also occupies the same place in the Sanskrit classes. It may indeed be readily believed that the three classes which the Sanskrit possesses over the Pali, are merely the elaborations of Grammarians. For, although in the Sanskrit, primitive verbs may belong to any one of the first nine classes; yet it is a significant fact that by far the greatest number do not belong to the second and third: and the third is only distinguished from the second by a syllable of reduplication in the special tenses. [Bopp's Comp. Gram. p. 107.]

In considering the characteristics of the Sanskrit classes, it is also remarkable that the sixth, like the first, adds *a* to the root, “the difference between the first class of nearly one thousand roots (almost the half of the entire number), and the sixth class which contains about 130 roots,” being, as remarked by Bopp in his Comp. Gram. p. 104, that “the former

raise the vowel of the root by Guna, while the latter retain it pure." "As *a* has no Guna," adds the same writer, "no discrimination can take place through this vowel between the classes 1 and 6; but nearly all the roots which belong to either, having *a* as the radical vowel, are reckoned in the first class."

I may also here observe that in the Vedas some verbs, e.g. *mri*, of the sixth conjugation, are inflected as if belonging to the first—a circumstance from which it may be inferred that the Sanskrit roots were not originally divided into ten classes.

The correspondence between the Pali and Sanskrit affixes in the remaining Conjugations will be readily seen, the differences being indeed very slight. The distinction, however, between the two first Conjugations in the Pali, is, that in the second the root takes an augment of a *niggahita* before the final consonant [Bopp, p. 108.] In the affixes the Cerebral *n* is an anubandha, which however is not very frequent in the Pali. The *n* in the affixes of the seventh class denotes the substitution of *vridhhi* [see *Bàlavatàra*, p. 88] for the radical element.

Although the Grammar before us does not distinctly name all the derivative verbs known to the Sanskrit, and has not shewn the peculiarities of the *Frequentative* form of the verb; (see note at p. 17,) yet the existence of them in the Pali is undoubted. More on this subject hereafter. See notes to the third Chapter *infra*.

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## CAP: III.

1. Sometimes the primary letter of a monosyllabic radical\* is reduplicated.

*a.* The primary letter of a monosyllabic radical is sometimes reduplicated.

*Ex.* titikkhati 'forbears.'

jigucchhati 'reproaches.'

tikicchhati 'cures.'

vimansati 'investigates.'

bubhukkhati 'wishes to eat.'

pivāsati 'wishes to drink.'

daddallati 'illumines intensely.'

jahāti 'abandons.'

chankamati 'walks repeatedly.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'sometimes'? [To mark the exceptions; such as] kamati 'walks'; chalati 'shakes.'

## 2. The first abbhàsa †

*a.* The first [letter] of a reduplicate root is named abbhàsa.

*Ex.* dadhāti 'holds.'

dadāti 'gives.'

babhūva 'became.'

## 3. Is short. ‡

*a.* The (first) vowel in the abbhàsa is short.

*Ex.* dadāti 'gives'; dadhāti 'holds'; jahāti 'abandons.'

4. The second and fourth become first and third.

*a.* When the abbhàsa is either the second or fourth [letter

\* Lit.—a root having one single vowel.

† Same in Pāṇini—see vi. 1-4.

‡ Same in Pāṇini, vii. 4-59.



*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception, as in the example] *bubhukkhati* 'wishes to eat.'

## 9. And a *niggahita*.

*a.* Optionally an augment of *niggahita* (*anusvāra*) after the *abbhāsa*.

*Ex.* *chankamati* 'walks repeatedly'; *chañchalati* 'frequently shakes'; *jangamati* 'frequently goes.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exceptions as in the instances] *pivāsati* 'wishes to drink'; *daddallati* 'illuminates intensely.'

## 10. After *pà* and *mà*, *và* and *man* [before the affix] *sa*.

*a.* When the roots *pà* and *mà* take the affix *sa*, optionally they receive after the *abbhāsa*, the substitutions *và* and *man* respectively.

*Ex.* *pivāsati* 'wishes to drink'; *vimansati* 'investigates.'

## 11. *Tittha* for *thà*.

*a.* Optionally *tittha* is substituted for a root such as *thà*.

*Ex.* *titthati* 'stands'; *titthatu* 'let him stand'; *tittheyya* 'he may stand'; *tittheyyun* 'they may stand.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception as in the example] *thàti* 'stands.'

## 12. *Piba* for *pà*.

*a.* Optionally *piba* is substituted for the root *pà*.

*Ex.* *pibati* 'drinks'; *pibatu* 'let him drink'; *pibeyya* 'he may drink.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception as in the example] *pàti* 'he drinks.'

## 13. *Jà jan* and *nà* for *ñà*.

*a.* Optionally *jà jan* and *nà* are substituted for the root *ñà*.

*Ex.* *jànāti* 'knows'; *jāneyya* 'may know'; *jāniyā* 'may know'; *jaññā* 'know thou'; *nāyati* 'he knows.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception] *viññāyati* 'is well-known.'

14. Optionally *passa*, *dissa*, and *dakkha* for *disa*.

a. Optionally *passa*, *dissa* and *dakkha* are substituted for the root *disa*.

*Ex.* *passati* 'sees'; *dissati* 'sees'; *dakkhati* 'sees.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception] *addasa*\* 'he saw.'

15. *Ch* for the final consonant, [when followed by the] affixes *chh.*, & †

a. The final consonant of the radical becomes *ch*, when it (the root) takes the affix *chh.*

*Ex.* *jiguchchhati* 'reproaches'; *tikichchhati* 'cures'; *jighachchhati* 'wishes to eat.'

16. And *ka*, when *kha*.

a. The final consonant of the radical becomes *ka*, when it takes the affix *kha*.

*Ex.* *titikkhati* 'forbears'; *bubhukkhati* 'wishes to eat.'

17. *Gin* for *hara*, when *sa*.

a. *Gin* is substituted for the entire root *hara*, when it takes the affix *sa*.

*Ex.* *jiginsati* 'wishes to take.'

18. *àha* and *bhùva*, for *brù* and *bhù* (before) *parokkhà*.

a. *Aha* and *bhùva* are (respectively) substituted for the radicals *brù* and *bhù*, before *parokkhà* terminations. ‡

*Ex.* *àha* '(it is reported) he said.'

*àhu* '(it is reported) they said.'

*babhùva* '(it is reported) it became.'

*babhùvu* '(it is reported) they became.'

\* This is sometimes written *addasà*.

† The Vutti is deficient in explaining the &c.

‡ See Cap. i. § 12.

Q. Wherefore parokkhà? [To mark the exception as in the Ajjatanì, see Cap. 1. § 14] abruvun 'they have said.'

19. Optionally, before all, chchh. for the final of gami.

a. Optionally the final m in the root gamu, becomes chchh before all the affixes and terminations.

<i>Ex.</i> gachchhamàno	}	'going.'
gachchhanto		
gachchhati	}	'he goes.'
gameti *		
gachchhatu	}	'let him go.'
gametu		
gachchheyya	}	'he may go.'
gameyya		
agachchha	}	'he went.'
agamà		
agachchhi	}	'he has gone.'
agami		
gachchhissati	}	'he will go.'
gamissati		
agachchhissà	}	'he would have gone.'
agamissà		
agachchhiyati	}	'he is gone.†
agamiyati		

Q. Wherefore 'of gami'? [To shew that the rule is limited to the given verb;‡ and that it does not apply to is] ichchhati 'he wishes.'

20. The a in vach [becomes] o before Ajjatanì.

\* Gameti, gametu, and gameyya may be also the causatives of the forms given with them within brackets.

† It will be seen that these examples do not illustrate the parokkhà.

‡ Even were there no express statement to the effect that this Pali writer had a previous knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, the above vutti would clearly establish the fact. For obviously the object here was to shew the difference between the Pali and the Sanskrit in which latter ish and gam come under the same rule. See Pāṇini vii. 3, 77; and Laghu kaumudi, No. 533.

a. Before Ajjatanì terminations, the a in the root vach becomes o.

*Ex.* avocha 'he has said'; avochun 'they have said.'

Q. Wherefore 'before Ajjatanì'? [Witness the examples in the hīyattani, as] avachà 'he spoke; avachu 'they spoke.'

21. Before hi mi and ma, the a is long.

a. Before the terminations hi, mi, and ma, the a is long.

*Ex.* gachchhàhi 'go thou'; gachchhàmi 'I go'; gachchhàma 'we go'; gachchhàmhe 'we go.'

*Note.*—By reason of the insertion of 'mi'\* (in the rule) the a is sometimes short before the termination hi; as gachchhahi go thou.'

22. Optionally hi is elided.

a. The termination hi is optionally elided.

*Ex.* gachchha for gachchhàhi 'go thou.'

gama for gamehi 'go thou.'

gamaya for gamayàhi 'go thou.'

Q. Wherefore 'hi'? [To limit the rule to that particular termination; as] gachchhati, 'he goes'; gamiyati 'he is gone.'

23. And ssa, in bhavissanti; [when] the vowel in hoti† [becomes] eha, oha, e.

a. Optionally the ssa in bhavissanti terminations is elided, when the vowel in the radical‡ hu is changed into eha, oha, e.

<i>Ex.</i> hehiti	} 'he will be.'	hehinti	} 'they will be.'
hohiti		hohinti	
heti		henti	
hehissati		hehissanti	
hohissati		hohissanti	
hessati		hessanti	

\* I am not sure whether I have correctly rendered the above note. It is not intelligible.

† Eastern Grammarians frequently give the inflected verb in the third person when strictly the root should be given.

‡ See my observations on this radical at the end of Chapter Fourth.



Q. 1st. Wherefore *hù*? To exclude the radical *bhù* of the same import, to which the rule does not apply; as] *bhavissati* 'he will be'; *bhavissanti* 'they will be.'

Q. 2nd. Wherefore 'in *bhavissanti*'? [To shew that the rule is limited to the future tense, as in] *hoti* 'he is' *honti* 'they are.'

## 24. *Kàha* for *kara* including its affix.

a. Before *bhavissanti* terminations optionally *kàha* is substituted for the radical *kara* including its affix, [when] always the *ssa* is elided.

*Ex.* *kàlāti*, *kàhīti* 'he will do'; *kàhasi*, *kàhisi* 'thou wilt do'; *kàhāmi* 'I will do'; *kàhāma* 'we will do.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [Witness] *karissati* 'he will do' *karissanti* 'they will do.'

*Note*—that by the force of the words 'including its affix' [the rule may be extended] to other roots before *bhavissanti* terminations, when the radicals take the substitutions *khāmi*, *khāma*, and *chhāmi*, *chhāma*, e. g., the radical *vas*, *vakkhāmi* 'I shall relate'; *vakkhāma* 'we shall relate'; the radical *vasa*—*vachchhāmi* 'I shall dwell'; *vachchhāma* 'we shall dwell.'

*End of the Third Chapter on Verbs.*

## NOTES.

Although the Grammar before us has not distinctly defined the derivative verbal forms known to the Sanskrit; yet, it will be observed (see examples to the very first rule with which this Chapter commences), that the Pali is not deficient in any of them. It has the Passive, the Causal, the Nominal, the Desiderative, and the Intensive forms.

The Pali, like the Sanskrit Passive, receives the syllable *ya* to the root, Cap. ii. § 9. Although *y* is frequently lost by assimilation, as in *pachchate* 'is cooked'; *bhujjate* 'is

known'; it is, nevertheless, retained in words like *kariyate* 'is done.' The Pali is, in this respect, different from the Prākṛit, which, in the formation of the Passive, generally takes *ia* or *ijja*; as, *padhiai* or *padhijjai* [Vararuchi vii. 8, 9,] for the Pali *patthate* 'is recited.' In the Prākṛit *ai*, we clearly see the Dravidian termination *ei*, which runs through the entire body of its principal dialect, the Tamil; e. g. *avei* 'those'; *talei* 'head'; *videi* 'to sow'; *irukkei* (the verbal nouns for) 'being.' In the termination *ijja*, however, may be discovered the representative of the Sanskrit *y*, viz, *g* or *j*, into which the *y* passes in different forms of the Prākṛit and the Indo-European languages. See Bopp's Comp. Grammar, pp. 17, 110.

In the Pali there are four forms of the Causal verb, viz, *e*, *aya*, *ape*, and *apaya*; [Cap. ii. § 7,] whilst, of these, two alone are generally found in the Prākṛit, e. g. *kāredi* or *kāravedi*. The first answers to the Pali *kāreti*, and the second (in which, as in the Dravidian, the *p* is changed into *v*) to *kārāpeti*. These again may be regarded as the vernacular forms of *kārayati* and *kārāpayati*, which are known to the Sanskrit, in which, it is moreover remarkable, the first *aya* is the prevailing affix, the second *payā* being confined to 'those roots which ending in *ā*, or in a diphthong to be changed into *ā*, receive before *aya* the affix of a *p*,' as in *sthāpayāmi* 'I make to stand.' Bopp's. Comp. Gram. p. 1002. The difference between the Pali, Prākṛit, and Sanskrit causal affixes may be thus exhibited:—

(i.)	<i>kāreti</i>	—	<i>kārayati</i>	—	<i>kārāpeti</i>	—	<i>kārāpayati</i> .
(ii.)	<i>kāredi</i>	—	.....	—	<i>kārāvedi</i>	—	.....
(iii.)	.....	—	<i>kāryati</i>	—	.....	—	<i>sthāpayati</i>

It is indeed very remarkable, as stated by Professor Bopp, that the contraction of *aya* into *e*, as in the Pali and Prākṛit *manemi*, is also to be found in 'the Old-High German, and the Latin of the second conj.' Comp. Gram. p. 109.

With regard to the Prākṛit form of the Causative, Professor Lassen has the following observations.\* “From the Sanskrit form of the Causative roots in à, which insert a servile p between the termination of the root and the addition ay, arises another form of the Prākṛit Causative which adds àp to the root, or to the theme of the present active. The Causative inflects this dissyllable in àp (whence àb; Comp. sec. 37) entirely like that which has just been mentioned. This form is derived from the Sanskrit discourse of one of the lower orders; for, in the Vetālapanchavinsati, and in other Milesian tales we read jīvāpayati, mochāpayati, and others of the kind. Vararuchi observes, vii. 17, that kārābeyi is also called karābeyi, i.e., if àp be added, the vowel of the Sanskrit Causative is now and then shortened. Examples of this are thābehi Vik. 6, 10; lohābedi Sak. 58, 5 from lubh; tuarābedu Māl. Vik. 44, 10; marisābedha Sak. 55, 9; mo (ch) ābehi Sak. 153, 6; Vik. 13, 14; 14, 3. Fut. moābissam &c.”

I may here refer to a peculiarity of the Pali Causal verb, which has been noticed by the writer of the Bālavatāra, viz., that Intransitive verbs with a causal affix, convey a transitive signification; e g., bhikkhu rāgādi dūsakan maggan bhāveti, ‘the priest contemplates the defiling path of the passions’†

Akammakāpi hetvatthappachchayanā sakammakā  
Tan yathā bhikkhu bhāveti maggan rāgādi dūsakan.

The affinity between, what I conceive to be, the cultivated forms of the Causal affixes and the Passive, is obvious. The same relationship which exists between these forms exists also between them and the affixes of the Nominal verb, which

\* Lassen's Inst. Prāk. p. 360.

† See Clough's Bālavatāra, p. 108.

takes àya and ìya in several different senses, as in the Sanskrit. [Laghu Kawmudhi 297.] Thus,

karì .....(ya) .....ya-te .....	Passive.		
kàra .....(ya) .....ya-ti .....	Causal.		
pabbat ... (àya) .....àya-ti.....	(i.)	Nominal, Cap. ii. § 4.	
chatt.....(iya) .....iya-ti.....	(ii.)	do. do. § 5.	
chatt.....(iya) .....iya-ti.....	(iii.)	do. do. § 6.	
upavìn ... (aya) .....aya-ti.....	(iv.)	do. do. § 8.	
dad-dal... (ya) .....l (y)a-ti.....	Intensive.		

Of the Intensive and Desiderative forms in the Prākṛit, Professor Lassen remarks that "reliques only of these verbs are extant, and, in truth, these kinds of derivative verbs rarely pass over into common conversation. Jūgutsa, whence the Prākṛit jugutcha. It is extant in M. M. 36, 11, etc." Prāk. Inst. p. 367.

The Desiderative and Intensive forms of the verb, are indeed no strangers in the Pali. See Cap. ii. § 3; also iii. § 1. They are both formed, as in the Sanskrit, by the reduplication of the first syllable of the root. The Intensive form appears, as in the Sanskrit, generally, in verbs signifying 'to shine,' 'to be beautiful,' 'to lament.' Where, however, the primitive verb has a reduplicated form, as in titikkhati, it does not, as we learn from Moggallāyana, undergo a reduplication in its formation into the Desiderative; as titikkhisati 'he wishes to endure,' jiguchchhisati 'he wishes to reproach.' In these examples the affix s,\* is the same as in the Sanskrit. But this is sometimes changed in the Pali into kh, or chh. See Cap. ii. §§ 2, 3. The Desiderative verb may also be formed into a Causal, e. g., bubukkhāpeti. See Moggallāyana's Pali Grammar.

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\* ish = is 'to desire.'

## CAP: IV.

## 1. Before mi, ma, an for the final of dà.

a. Before mi, and ma, an is substituted for the final letter of the root dà.

*Ex.* dammi 'I give'; damma 'we give.'

## 2. Before a causal affix, (the radical) when not ending with a compound consonant, is subject to vuddhi.

a. The root, when not ending with a compound consonant, is subject to vuddhi\* before a causal affix.

<i>Ex.</i> kàreti	{	'he causes to do.'	kàrenti	{	'they cause to do.'
kàrayati			kàrayanti		
kàràpeti			kàràpenti		
kàràpayati			kàràpayanti		

Q. Wherefore 'when not ending with a compound consonant'? [Witness] chintayati† 'he reflects'; mantayati 'he causes to deliberate.'

## 3. Optionally Ghata, &amp;c.†

a. When not ending with a compound consonant the roots ghata, &c., optionally receive vuddhi substitutions before causal affixes.

<i>Ex.</i> ghàteti	}	'he causes to unite.'
ghateti		
ghàtayati		
ghàtàpeti		
ghàtàpayati		
ghatàpayati		

\* Vuddhi is the change or substitution to which the vowels are subject. Thus à for a; e for i and ì; and o for u and ù.

† Can this be the causal form? I have not seen this word used in such a sense.

‡ See Pāṇini, vi. 4, 92.

gàmeti	}	'he causes to go.'
gameti		
gàmayati		
gamayati		

Q. Wherefore 'ghata, &c.'? [To exclude roots such as kara e. g.] kàreti 'he causes to do.'

#### 4. And others.

a. When not ending with compound consonants all roots receive vuddhi substitutions before other affixes.

*Ex.* jayati 'he conquers'; bhavati or hoti 'is.'

*Note*—by the insertion of an 'and' [to the sutta it may be laid down that,] the affix nu also takes the vuddhi substitutions; as abhisunoti 'he hears well'; sanvunoti 'he closes.'

#### 5. Guha dusa long.

a. Before causal affixes, the vowel of the roots guha dusa, becomes long.

*Ex.* gùhayati 'he causes to conceal'; dùyayati 'he causes to pollute.'

#### 6. Before ya, u for (v)a in vacha, vasa, vaha, &c.

a. Before the affix ya the (v)a in the roots vacha, vasa, vaha, &c., becomes u.

*Ex.* uchchate }  
vuchchati }

'is said.'

vussati 'is inhabited.'

vuyhati 'is borne.'

#### 7. Before y, h is transposed; (and) optionally (changed into) l.

a. Before the affix ya, the letter h is transposed; and the affix ya is optionally changed into l.

*Ex.* vuyhati or vulhati 'is borne.'

#### 8. Before ppa, ghe for gaha.

a. Before the affix ppa, ghe is substituted for the entire root gaha.

*Ex.* gheppati 'he takes.'

9. Before nhà, ha is elided.

a. Before the affix nhà, the ha in the root gaha is elided.

*Ex.* ganhàti 'he takes.'

10. Before Ajjatani, kàsa for kara.

a. Before Ajjatani terminations, the form of kàsa is substituted for the entire root kara.

*Ex.* akàsi or akari 'he has done.'

akàsun or akarun 'they have done.'

*Note\**—by the expression atta 'the form,' sa may be augmented in others, e. g., ahosi 'has been'; adàsi 'has given.'

11. The mi mà of asa (become) mhi, mhà; and the last is elided.

a. The terminations mi and mà, which come after the root asa, are optionally changed into mhi and mhà; when the final letter of the root is elided.

*Ex.* amhi, or asmi 'I am.'

amha, or asma 'we are.'

12. Ttha for tha.

a. The termination tha of the root asa is changed into ttha, when [as before] the final letter of the root is elided.

*Ex.* attha 'you are.'

13. Tthi for ti.

a. Ti, the termination of the root asa is changed into tthi; when the final letter of the root is also elided.

*Ex.* atthi 'he is.'

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\* This note like several others is not intelligible to my mind. By the expression 'form of kàsa,' a substitution of sa may be implied; but how an augment can be understood, I do not perceive. Again aññatthāpi 'in other places' can according to the text, only refer to terminations other than Ajjatani; yet from the examples given to the note, which are in the Ajjatani tense, it would seem that something else was meant.

## 14. Tthu for tu.

*a.* Tu, the termination of the root asa is changed into tthu; when the final letter of the root is also elided.

*Ex.* atthu 'let him be.'

## 15. Also [when] si.

*a.* Also when si is the termination of the root asa, its final letter is elided.

*Ex.* ko nu tvam'asi 'who art thou?'

## 16. Ttha tthan, for ì im, after labha.

*a.* When the terminations ì and im, come after the root labha, the same are changed into ttha and tthan; and the final letter of the root is elided.

*Ex.* alattha 'he has got'; alattham 'I have got.'

## 17. Chchhi for i, after kudha.

*a.* When the termination i comes after the root kudha, the same is changed into chchhi; and the final letter of the root is elided.

*Ex.* akkochchhi 'he has angered.'\*

## 18. Optionally dajja for the root dà.

*a.* Dajja is optionally substituted for the entire root dà.

*Ex.* dajjàmi or dadàmi 'I give'; dajjeyya or dadeyya 'he may give.'

## 19. Vajja for vada.

*a.* Vajja is optionally substituted for the entire root vada.

*Ex.* vajjàmi or vadàmi 'I speak'; vajjeyya or vaḍeyya 'he may speak.'

## 20. Ghamma for gamu.

*a.* Ghamma is optionally substituted for the entire root gamu.

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\* In the Dhammapada this word is used to signify 'abused,' (see Gogerley's Trans: in The Friend iv. p. 21.) When it means 'abused,' or 'reviled,' akkochchhi is derived from kunsā, and not from kudhā.



*Ex.* ghammatu 'let him go'; ghammàhi 'go thou'; gham-màmi 'let me go.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'optionally'? [To shew the regular forms] gachchhatu 'let him go'; gachchhàhi 'go thou'; gachchhàmi 'let me go.'

21. Before ya, ì for dà, dhà, mà, thà, là, pà, maha, matha, &c.

*a.* Before the affix ya, the final vowel of dà, dhà, mà, thà, hà, pà, maha, matha, &c., becomes ì.

*Ex.* dīyati 'is given'; dhīyati 'is holden'; mīyati 'is measured'; thīyati 'is stationed'; hīyati 'is reduced'; pīyati 'is drunk'; mahīyati 'is adored'; mathīyati 'is churned.'

22. I for the first of yaja.

*a.* Before the affix ya, i is substituted for the first letter of the root yaja.

*Ex.* ijgate mayà Buddhō 'Buddha is worshipped by me.'

23. Imsu for um of all.

*a.* The termination um of all radicals, is changed into im-su.

*Ex.* upasamkamimsu 'they have approached'; nisīdimsu 'they have sat down.'

24. Optionally jira (or) jīyya, and mīyya for jara and mara.

*a.* Optionally the roots jara, and mara take the substitutions jira or jīyya, and mīyya.

*Ex.* jīrati or jīyyati 'he becomes decrepid'; jīranti or jīyyanti 'they become decrepid'; mīyati or marati 'he dies'; mīyanti or maranti 'they die.'

25. And the initial of asa is elided before all.

*a.* Before all terminations and affixes, the initial [vowel] of the root asa, is optionally elided.

*Ex.* siyà 'it may be'; santi 'they are'; santo 'being'; samāno 'being.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception  
e. g.] *asi* 'thou art.'

## 26. For *asabbadhātuka*, *bhū*.

a. In *asabbadhātuka*\* terminations, the very root *asa*, optionally becomes *bhū*.

*Ex.* *bhavissati* 'he will be'; *bhavissanti* 'they will be.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception  
e. g.] *āsum* 'they have been.'

## 27. Optionally *iyā*, and *aññā* for *eyya* after *ñā*.

a. *Iya*, and *aññā* are optionally substituted for the termination *eyya* after the root *ñā*.

*Ex.* *jāṇiyā* 'he may know'; *jāññā* 'he may know.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [Witness] *jāneyya* 'he may know.'

## 28. *Nā* is rejected [or] changed into *ya*.

a. The affix *nā* of the root *ñā* is sometimes elided, and sometimes changed into *ya*.

*Ex.* *jāññā* 'he may know'; *nāyati* 'he knows.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exception  
e. g.] *jānāti* 'he knows.'

## 29. *A* [becomes] *e*, and is rejected.

a. The affix *a* [see Cap. ii. § 14] is sometimes elided, and sometimes changed into *e*.

*Ex.* *vajjemi* or *vademi* } 'I speak.'  
      *vajjāmi* or *vadāmi* }

## 30. *O* becomes *u*.

a. Optionally the affix *o* [see Cap. ii. § 20] becomes *u*.

*Ex.* *kurute* or *karoti* 'he does.'

Q. Wherefore 'o'? [To shew the exception as in] *hoti*  
'is.'†

\* The *asabbadhātuka* comprise all the moods and tenses except the *sabbadhātuka*, see Cap. i § 26.

† This is not very intelligible.

### 31. And also the a of kara.

*a.* The a of the radical kara optionally becomes u.

*Ex.* kurute, karoti, kubbate, kubbati, and kairati 'he does.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'kara'? [To exclude other radicals, such as] sarati 'walks'; marati 'kills.'

### 32. Before a vowel o becomes ava.

*a.* Before a vowel, the final o of a radical optionally becomes ava.

*Ex.* chavati 'quits'; bhavati 'is.'

*Q.* 1st. Wherefore 'before a vowel'? [To show that the rule does not apply except before a vowel, e. g.] hoti 'is.'

*Q.* 2nd. Wherefore 'o'? [To limit it to the rule, e. g.] jayati 'conquers.'

### 33. E becomes aya.

*a.* Before a vowel, the final e of the radical optionally becomes aya.

*Ex.* nayati 'leads'; jayati 'conquers.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'before a vowel'? [To shew that the rule does not apply except before a vowel, e. g.] neti 'leads.'

### 34. Before a causative, they become âva and âya.

*a.* Before a causative they, viz., o and e, take the substitutions âva and âya.

*Ex.* lâveti 'he causes to cut'; nâyeti 'he causes to lead.'

*Note.*—By analyzing the suttan, âya is admissible before other affixes, e. g., gâyeti 'he sings.'

### 35. I is augmented before asabbadhâtuka.

*a.* Before asabbadhâtuka terminations, i is augmented.

*Ex.* gamissati 'he will go'; karissati 'he will do'; labhis-sati 'he will acquire'; pachissati 'he will cook.'

*Q.* Wherefore 'before asabbadhâtuka'? [To shew that

the rule does not apply to sabbadhâtuka terminations, e. g.] gachchhati 'goes'; karoti 'does'; labhati 'acquires'; pachati 'cooks.'

36. In certain instances, radicals, terminations, and affixes become long, take transformations, substitutions, and receive elision and augment, &c.

a. In certain instances, which are not here treated of, under the different voices of the verb, the elongation, transformation, substitution, elision, and augment, which radicals, terminations, and affixes receive [or undergo] should be adopted according to [the models furnished in] the word of Buddha.

*Ex.* jâyati\* 'is born.'

kareyya 'he may do.'

jâniyâ 'he may know.'

siyâ 'may be.'

kare 'he may do.'

gachchhe 'he may go.'

jaññâ 'he may know'; or 'know thou.'

vakkhetha 'you speak.'

dakkhetha 'you see.'

dichchhati 'he sees.'

âgachchhun 'they have come.'

ahosi 'has been.'

ahesun 'have been.'

*Note.*—In this wise should others be used.

37. The attanopadâni [become] the very parassapada.

a. Sometimes the attanopada (terminations) are changed into parassapada.

*Ex.* vuchchati 'is spoken'; labbhati 'is acquired'; pachchati 'is cooked'; kariyati 'is done'; sijjhati 'is accomplished.'

Q. Wherefore 'sometimes'? [To shew that the change

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\* The commentator deduces this from the root ji 'to conquer.'

is optional; as] vuchchate, labbhate, pachchate, kariyate, sijjhate.

38. A is augmented in the hiyattani, ajjatanì, and kàlàtipattì.

a. Sometimes when the terminations are the Hiyattani, Ajjatanì, [or] Kàlàtipattì, a is augmented [before the root.]

*Ex.* agamà 'he went'; agami 'he has gone'; agamissà 'he would go.'

Q. Wherefore 'sometimes'? [To indicate that the change is optional; as] gamà, gami, gamissà.

39. ì after brù, when tì.

a. ì is augmented after the root brù, when the termination is tì.

*Ex.* bravìti 'he speaks.'

40. The final of a root of many vowels is elided.

a. Sometimes the final [vowel] of a root of many vowels is elided.

*Ex.* gachchhati 'goes'; pachati 'cooks'; sarati 'remembers'; marati 'kills [or dies]'; charati 'walks.'

1st Q. Wherefore 'of many vowels'? [To exclude monosyllabic roots, as] pàti 'drinks'; yàti 'goes'; dāti 'gives'; bhāti 'shines'; vāti 'wafts.'

2nd Q. Wherefore 'sometimes'? [To mark the exceptions, such as] mahiyati 'adores'; matiyati 'churns.'

41. Optionally the finals of isu and yama [are changed into] ichchha.

a. Optionally the finals of isu and yama are changed into ichchha.

*Ex.* ichchhati 'wishes'; niyachchhati 'regulates.'

Q. Wherefore 'optionally'? [To mark the exceptions such as] esati 'searches'; niyamati 'determines.'

## 42. The n of kàrita is elided.

a The n of kàrita affixes is elided.

*Ex.* kàreti

kàrayati

kàràpeti

kàràpayati

} 'causes to do.'

For the advancement of religion, the verb has been (thus) briefly illustrated by me: may the learned, according to their own respective attainments, reflect, (hereon.)

*End of the Fourth Chapter on Verbs.*

## NOTES.

Some modern writers on Pali Grammar follow, in their illustrations, the principles of Sanskrit Grammar. E. g., the eight conjugations of Pali verbs are classed by Moggallàyana differently from Kachchàyana; and the classification by the former seems to be nearly in accordance with that adopted by Sanskrit writers. He also, like Vararuchi, refers the student in certain parts of his Grammar 'to the Sanskrit,' for the explication of 'that which has been omitted.' But it is very remarkable that the older the grammarian, the less he has identified the Pali with the Sanskrit. Kachchàyana is, certainly, one of the latter class. Although he has borrowed a few technical terms from Sanskrit Grammarians\* (see Introduction, p. xxv.), and has even adopted the language of Pànini, as we have shown in the notes, and in the Introduction (p. xvii.); yet he has referred us for all that has not been

\* This merely proves the superior culture of the Sanskrit, at this time.

treated of, in his work, to the Text-books of Buddhism—not, to the Sanskrit. This indicates clearly that he, at least, did not regard the Pali as an emanation of the Sanskrit. It is also clear from the whole tenor of his work that he wished to treat of the Pali as a dialect distinct from the Sanskrit. Confining my observations to the portion of Grammar which is published, two circumstances may be here adduced in support of this.

(i.) That where the Sanskrit takes the substitute *chha* for the finals of these, viz., *ish* 'to wish,' *gam* 'to go,' and *yam* 'to restrain,' when an affix follows having an indicatory *s*, as *gachchhati* 'he goes.' [Laghu Kawmudhi, p. 187]; the Pali receives it only in the verb *gam* 'to go.' It is clearly to show this difference that Kachchâyana gives us the *Vutti* in Cap. iii. § 19.

(ii.) It is indeed with the same object that a little farther on he calls attention (§ 23) to the existence in the Pali of a verb *Substantive* unknown to the Sanskrit. This is *hû*; on which a few remarks may not be out of place here.

Vararuchi, in his *Prākṛit Prakāsa* (vii. § 3) states that *ho* and *huva* are the substituted forms of the verbal root *bhû*. If this were so, the substitution would indeed be invariably found in all the variations of the root. But such is not the fact. When both Vararuchi cap xii. § 12 and Hemachandra § 269, speaking of the Saurasenî, give *bhuvo bhah*, a commentator, adds *vâ* with ex. *bhodi*, *hodi*; *bhuvadi*, *huvadi*; *bhavadi*, *havadi*; showing clearly the existence of both forms in the *Prākṛit*. This is the case in several *Prākṛit* languages, e. g., in the *Marāthā*, which also possesses the Pali *hû*, the Sanskrit *as* is used to supply the deficiencies of the paradigm of the root *hû*. The Pali likewise takes in *bhû* to fill up the deficiencies of the uncultivated root *hû*, and the indiscriminate use of *bhû*, *hû*, and *as* disproves the alleged substitution. It is also disproved by the fact that in the Conjugation of *hû* it takes

different modifications which are not found in the forms of bhû; e. g. bhavati is not havati, but hoti; abhava is not ahava, but ahuvà. So likewise the other forms of hû, not one of which is identical with the forms of bhû. Take, for instance, the principal Ajjatani forms in bhû and hû; and their difference is manifest:—

abhavi	{ ahu ahosi	abhavinsu	{ ahavun ahesun
abhavo	{ ahosi	abhavattha	{ ahosittha
abhavin	{ ahosin ahun	abhavamhâ	{ ahosimha ahumha

Again, if we regard hû as the substituted form of bhû, how is it that the former, like *as*, is so irregular? wherefore have we not as many forms without a *b* as with it? why is it deprived of Attanopada forms in all Tenses except the Hiyattani? why indeed does it take so many forms as six in the future, when without the alleged substitution of *h* for *bh*, it has but one single form, bhavissati? For the illustration of other differences I subjoin the following

## COMPARATIVE TABLES

OF BHU, AS, HU.

### PRESENT TENSE.

#### Parassa-pada.

	Singular.			Plural.	
3 bhavati	atthi	hoti	bhavanti	santi	honti
2 bhavasi	asi	hosi	bhavatha	attha	hotha
1 bhavâmi	{ asmi amhi	homi	bhavâma	{ asma amha	homa

#### Attanopada.

3 bhavate	.....	.....	bhavante	.....	.....
2 bhavase	.....	.....	bhavavhe	.....	.....
1 bhave	.....	.....	bhavâmhe	.....	.....

### DEFINITE PAST.

#### Parassapada.

3 abhava	.....	ahuvà	abhavû	.....	ahuvu
2 abhavo	.....	ahuvo	abhavattha	.....	ahuvattha
1 abhava	.....	{ ahuvan ahuva	abhavamhâ	.....	ahuvamha



## Attanopada.

Singular.

Plural.

3 abhavattha	.....	ahuvattha	abhavatthun.....	ahuvatthun
2 abhavase	.....	ahuvase	abhavavhan .....	ahuvavhan
1 abhavin	.....	ahuvin	abhavamhase ...	ahuvamhase*

## PRESENT PERFECT.

## Parassapada.

3 abhavi	âsi	{ ahu	abhavinsu	{ âsinsu	{ ahavun
2 obhavo	âsi	{ ahosi	abhavattha	{ âsun	{ ahesun
1 abhavin	âsin	{ ahosi	abhavamhâ	{ âsittha	{ ahosittha
		{ ahosin		{ âsimha	{ ahosimha
		{ ahun		{ ahunha	

## Attanopada.

3 abhavâ	.....	.....	abhavû	.....	.....
2 abhavase	.....	.....	abhavavhan	.....	.....
1 abhava	.....	.....	abhavamhe	.....	.....

## INDEFINITE PAST.

## Parassapada.

3 babhûva	.....	.....	babhûvu	.....	.....
2 babhûve	.....	.....	babhûvittha	.....	.....
1 babhûva	.....	.....	babhûvamha	.....	.....

## Attanopada.

3 babhûvittha	.....	.....	babhûvive	.....	.....
2 babhûvittho	.....	.....	babhûvivho	.....	.....
1 babhûvi	.....	.....	babhûvimhe	.....	.....

## FUTURE TENSE.

## Parassapada.

3 bhavissati	.....	{ beti hehiti hohiti hessati hehissati hohissati*	bhavissanti	.....	{ henti hehinti hohinti hessanti hehissanti hohissanti
2 bhavissasi	.....	{ hesi hehisi hohisi hessasi hehissasi hohissasi	bhavissatha	.....	{ hetha hehitha hohitha hessatha hehissatha hohissatha

\* The Attanopada forms of the radical hû, so far as my observation goes, are confined to this Hiyattani Tense.

† The forms with ho, such as hohissati; hohissasi, hohissami. &c., are given by the Rev. F. Mason of the Baptist Union, as those of 'the Second Future Tense.' See Am. Or. Journal iv, p. 280. But I can find no authority for this. For some of the changes of this verb in the Future Tense, see Rule in cap. iii. § 20.

1 bhavissāmi	.....	{ hēmi hehāmi hohāmi hessāmi hehissāmi hohissāmi	bhavissāma	.....	{ hēma hehāma hohāma hessāma hehissāma hohissāma
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## Attonopada

3 bhavissate	.....	.....	bhivissante	.....	.....
2 bhavissase	.....	.....	bhavissavhe	.....	.....
1 bhavissan	.....	.....	bhavissāmhe	.....	.....

## THE IMPERATIVE.

## Parassapada.

3 bhavatu	atthu	hōtu	bhavantu	santu	hontu
2 bhavāhi	āhi	hohi	bhavatha	attha	hotha
1 bhavāmi	asmi	homi	bhavāna	asna	homa

## Attanopada.

3 bhavatan	.....	.....	bhavantan	.....	.....
2 bhavassu	.....	.....	bhavavho	.....	.....
1 bhave	.....	.....	bhavāmase	.....	.....

## THE POTENTIAL.

## Parassapada.

3 bhave	{ siyā	heyya	bhaveyyun	{ siyun	heyyun
bhaveyya	{ assa			{ assu	
2 bhaveyyāsi	assa	heyyāsi	bhaveyyātha	assatha	heyyātha
1 bhaveyyāmi	assan	heyyāmi	bhaveyyāma	assāma	{ heyyāma heyyan

## Attanopada.

3 bhavetha	.....	.....	bhaveeran	.....	.....
2 bhavetho	.....	.....	bhaveyyavho	.....	.....
1 bhaveyyam	.....	.....	bhaveyyāmhe	.....	.....

For the forms of hū in the Potential, the Rūpasiddhi gives the above; but we have not met with any of them in the text books of Buddhism. We have, however, found a different form huveyya in Mahā Vagga lib i., 'huveyya pāvuso.\* In accordance with this the other persons should be formed as follows:—

.....	.....	huveyya		.....	.....	huveyyun
.....	.....	huveyyāsi		.....	.....	huveyyātha
.....	.....	huveyyāmi		.....	.....	huveyyāma

\* avuso—a term of address. This is, I believe, not found in the Sanskrit; see my observations thereon in the C. B., A. S. J. for 1856—8., p. 247.

## THE CONDITIONAL.

## Parassapada.

3 abhavissa .....	ahavissa	abhavissansu .....	ahavissansu
2 abhavisse .....	ahavisse	abhavissatha .....	ahavissatha
1 abhavissam .....	ahavissam	abhavissamha .....	ahavisamha*

## Attanopada.

3 abhavissatha .....	.....	abhavissante .....	.....
2 abhavissase .....	.....	abhavissavhe .....	.....
1 abhavissam .....	.....	abhavissamhe .....	.....

## PARTICIPLES.

## Present.

<i>Decl.</i> { bhavamàna	{ santa
{ bhavanta	{ samàna
<i>Passive.</i> —bhūyamàna	

## Past.

<i>Decl.</i> — bhûta, huto, hutàvi	.....	.....
<i>Indec.</i> — hutvā or hutvāna	.....	.....

## Future.

<i>Decl.</i> — bhàvi	.....	.....
bhavissanta	.....	.....
bhavissamàna	.....	.....

From the above differences; and the confused mode in which the Prākṛit Grammarians treat of bhavadi havadi, &c., it may be inferred that they were indebted to little beyond their own observations for the elucidation of the laws of the Prākṛit; and that they consequently mistook a distinct radical for the modified form of another.

The Rev. Henry Ballantine of the American Board in India remarks, with reference to this radical in the Marāthā, "The substantive verb, especially, exhibits the most striking dissimilarity between the Sanskrit and the Marāthā languages. In Marāthā, we have the following forms of the substantive verb.

\* For these forms of hū in the Conditional, I am indebted to the writer of the Rūpasiddhi.

	Singular.			Plural.		
	1st per.	2nd per.	3rd per.	1st per.	2nd per.	3rd per.
Pr. Ind. —	âhe	..âhes	...âhe	âho.	..âhâ	..âhet
Sd. form —	hoya	...hos	...hoya	hwo	...hwà	..hot
H ndu fm—	hû	...hai	...hai	hai	...ho	...hai
Im.In.mas—	hoto	..hotàs	...hotà	hoto	...hotà	...hote

"The root of this verb is evidently *ho* or *he*, reminding us of the Hebrew *hàvâh* or *hàyâh*.\* The Sanskrit root of the substantive verb *as*, is employed in Maràthà to fill up the deficiencies of the paradigm of the original root; being used in the formation of the present habitual tense, and of the past habitual, and also of the conditional mood, e. g.; *asato* 'he is habitually;' *ase* 'he was habitually,' *asalà* 'if he were;' but these are evidently later introductions, required and employed only when the language had been considerably cultivated."†

That *hû* is a radical distinct from *bhû* appears not only from the express mention of it, as such (cap. iii § 23.) by Kachchâyana, and other Pâli Grammarians; but also from its existence both in the Indo-European languages and in the Prâkrit.

Although, of the Sanskrit auxiliaries as 'to be' *bhû* 'to become,' and *kri* 'to do,' all which exist in the Pali,—the German idioms alone substitute for the third, a verb signifying 'to do' [Bopp's Comp. Gr., p. 843]; and although some of the other European dialects possess the two first, both separately and conjointly [e. g. *es* Lat. *is* Teut., *esti* Gr., *ist* Germ., *is* Eng., and *be* and *is* Eng. &c.]; it is, nevertheless, remarkable that in the last we find another form *have*, which renders the same assistance to the principal verb that *be* (*bhû*) and *is* ('as') do. There is, therefore, I conceive, no objection to its ('have') being regarded as a *verb substantive* of that language from whence the Prâkrits and their Indo-European sisters have

\* 'Some would derive this root from the Sanskrit *bhû* 'to be,' and others from the Sanskrit *as*, but either of these derivations is far-fetched and unsatisfactory.'

† Amer. Oriental Journal, iii., p. 380.

sprung up. Moreover, the difference between 'have' and 'be' is simply that which exists between 'possession' and 'existence.' Possession itself conveys, as the Muràthi *honen* does, 'the entrance on the state of existence.' Dr. Stevenson's Muràthi Grammar, p. 86. The signification of existence is again not far removed from the idea of possession. The power of the one has clearly grown out of the other. The two auxiliary verbs *have* and *be*, which play a most important part in English Syntax, are indeed not more different in signification than the *as*, *bhû* and *kri*, which Sanskrit writers employ both in the Reduplicate Præterite, and in composition with nouns (Wilson's San. Gr., p. 350.)\*

The auxiliary verb which has *h* for its radical consonant in the Indo-European languages; e. g. *habeo* Lat., *haban* Goth., *have* Eng., is intimately related to *hu* (va) Prāk., *ho* (na) Murā,† and is therefore clearly traceable to the Pali *hū*, of which the inflexions, [*ve* Eng., *beo* Lat., *ban* Goth., *va* Prāk., *va* Sin.,] are found in the præterite.

Neither Vararuchi nor the other Prākṛit Grammarians seem to have been struck by coincidences such as the following; or, they would not, I apprehend, have traced the Prākṛit *hū* to *bhū*:

Pāli.	Prāk.	Mur.	Lat.	Goth.	Eng.
homi ...	— ...	hoya ...	habeo ...	haba ...	have
hosi ...	hosi ...	hos ...	habes ...	habais ...	hast
hoti ...	{ hoi ...	hoya ...	habet ...	habaip ...	has
homa ...	{ huvai ...	hvo ...	habemus ...	habam ...	have
hotha ...	— ...	hvà ...	habetes ...	habaip ...	have
honti ...	{ honti ...	hot ...	habent ...	habant ...	have
	{ huvant ...				

\* e. g. *sukli-karoti*=*seti-karoti*; *sukli-bhavati*=*seti-bhavati*; *sukli-syāt*=*seti-syā*.

† "At Cuttack we have *hoti*, *atthi*, as in the modern Pali."—American Oriental Journal, vol. ii., p. 336.

On the supposition, however, that "the simpler the form the older is its origin", my Pandit is inclined to believe that the Pāli form *hû*, is even more ancient than its fuller form assumed by the Prākṛit in common with some of her Indo-European sisters; and for this belief confirmatory proof may be found in the fact that the simple Pāli *hû* is found in the radical elements of such a different class of languages as the Chinese [(s)hee], the Burmese [(s)hi], and the Tavoy dialect [hi.]\* Be this however as it may, the existence of *hû* in some of the European dialects is manifest; and its absence in some others, as in the Sanskrit, furnishes no valid objection to its being regarded as a radical; for we have satisfactory proof that the Sanskrit has not only lost several roots, which are to be found in the Vedas, [e. g. kan, ink, ubj, sav, ven, sach, myaksh, thsar, dhraj, maud, ves, vaksh, turv, bharv, &c.,] but that some primitive radicals had also disappeared from the Vedic Sanskrit.† The absence of *hû* in the Sanskrit is, moreover, not more surprising than that the Greek, Latin, and the old Slavonic which possess the defective *as*, have not borrowed the fuller *bhû*.

\* Am. Oriental Journal, vol. iv., p. 279.

† See Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, p. 272.

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## APPENDIX.

Note at page xxxii.

Scarcely a century\* had elapsed from the death of Gotama, when, in the tenth year of Susinàga's successor, Kālāsoka, the teachings of Gotama were disregarded in the strongholds of Buddhism, and usages contrary to his doctrines prevailed even amongst the priesthood. The Sovereign himself "extended his protection" to those who deviated from the orthodox doctrines.

It is therefore not surprising that many thousands of priests who had been doubtless much inconvenienced by the rigid rules of discipline in the Buddhist Church, openly introduced certain innovations, of which the following is a condensed account.

The order by which priests were prevented from keeping *salt* for more than seven days, was construed not to extend to the case where salt was preserved in a horn. The allotted time for their morning meals, was extended to "two inches of shadow" *after* the meridian sun. The general prohibition against enjoyments was restricted to the *Vihāras*. Certain ceremonies, which were permitted only in the *Uposatha* hall, were extended to the monasteries. Consent, which was made the condition precedent upon which certain religious acts could be performed, was considered dispensable, where the act was confirmed after its completion. The doctrines of

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\* Dasa dasaka vassamhi Sambuddhe parinibbute  
Vesāliyan Vajjiputtā dipenti dasavatthuke.

That is—"when a century had elapsed from the date of Buddha's *parinibban*, the Vajjians of Vesāli declared the ten innovations."—*Dīpāvaṇsa*.

Buddhism, for which Gotama exacted implicit obedience, were set at naught upon the example of preceptors, or the authority of the fathers of the Church. Substantial food, which was forbidden after mid day, was thought not to extend to whey, "a component part of *milk*." Fermented liquor, the drinking whereof was totally prohibited, did not in their opinion include *toddy*, resembling water. Costly coverlets, against the use of which Gôtama laid his Canon, were considered to comprise only fringed cloth. All precious metals, which they were inhibited from receiving, were construed to mean all metals *besides gold and silver*.\* Such were the innovations of a body of ten thousand priests which led to the *Dùtiya Saṅgītī* or second Convocation.

- 1.—Uddhamman ubbinayancha  
Apagatan Satthu Sāsane;  
Atthan dammancha bhinditvā.  
Viloman dīpayinsute.
- 2.—Tesan niggaha natthāya  
Bahūbuddhassa sāvaka;  
Dvā dasa sata sahaṣṣāni  
Jina puttā samāgatā.
- 3.—Etasmin sannipātasmin  
Pāmokkhā *attha* bhikkhavo;  
Satthu kappā mahā nāgā  
Durā sadā mahā gaṇi.
- 4.—Sabbakāmi cha Sālho cha  
Revato Kujja Sobhito;  
Vāsabhaḡāmi Sumano  
Sāna vāsecha Sambhuto;
- 5.—Yaso Kākanda puttocha  
Jinan *ditthā* ime isi;  
Pāpānan nigga hatthāya  
Vesāliyan samāgatā;

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\* See Chūlavagga, lib. 4 of the Vinaya.



- 6.—Vāsabhagàmi cha Sumano  
 Anuruddhassànu vattakà;  
 Avasesà ànandassa  
 Ditttha pubbà tathàgatan.
- 7.—Susunàgassa putto  
 Asoko àsi mahipatì;  
 Pàtaliputta nagaramhi  
 Rajjan kàresi khattiyo.
- 8.—Taneha pakkhan labhitvāna  
 Atttha therà mahiddhikà;  
 Dasavatthunan ninditvā  
 Pāpe nimmaddayinsute.
- 9.—Niddha metvā pāpa bhikkhū  
 Madditvā vāda pāpakan;  
 Saka vāda sodhanatthāya  
 Atttha therà mahiddhikā.
- 10.—Arahantānan satta satan  
 Uchchinitvāna bhikkhavo;  
 Varan varan gahetvāna  
 Akansu dhamma sangahan.
- 11.—Kūtāgāra sālāyan  
 Vesāliyan puruttame;  
 Atttha māschi nitthāsì  
 Duttiyo sangaho ayan.

‘They (the sinful priests) made a melange by departing from the sense and phraseology of the dhamma and Vinaya, the doctrines of Buddhā.<sup>(1)</sup>

‘With a view (therefore), to degrade them, many priests, disciples of Buddha, (in all) twelve hundred thousand, assembled together.<sup>(2)</sup> In this congregation there were eight preeminent principal bhikkhus, who had a large retinue, who were (unapproachable, i. e.) without their equals, and not inferior to Buddha (himself; viz.)<sup>(3)</sup> Sabbakāmi, Sālha,

Revata, Kujjasobhita, Vāsabhaḡami, Sumana, Sambhūta of Sāna,<sup>(4)</sup> and Yasa, son of Kakanda, all who had seen Buddha. They assembled at Vesālī with a view to reproach the sinful priests.<sup>(5)</sup>

‘Vāsabhaḡami and Sumana were the disciples of Anuruddha, and the rest of Ananda. They had all seen Buddā.<sup>(6)</sup>

‘[At this time] Asoka, the son of Susināga, a Khattiya prince, reigned in Pātaliputta.<sup>(7)</sup>

‘The (abovenamed) eight pre-eminent theras, having gained (this prince) to their side, censured the ten indulgences, and (oppressed) inflicted pains and penalties on the sinful innovators.<sup>(8)</sup> Having (thus) overcome the sinful bhikkhus, and suppressed their heresies; these illustrious eight priests, with the object of purifying their own discourses,<sup>(9)</sup> assembled seven hundred arahats—pre-eminent bhikkhus; and held a Council of dhamma.<sup>(10)</sup>

‘This second Sangīti was brought to a close in eight months, at the *Kūtāḡara Hall*, in the renowned city of *Vesālī*.<sup>(11)</sup>

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The account given of this convocation in the Tibetan Annals\* does not precisely accord with that in the Mahāvansa. Both the accounts indeed agree as to the number of convocations,—as to their having been holden at three different places,—as to the first having been immediately after the death of Gotama,—and as to the second having been 110†

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\* See Asiatic Researches, xx., p. 41.

† Here too, there is a slight difference of ten years, which is too trivial to be noticed; and it is probable that the mistake arose by confounding the numbers 100, and 10, which may have occurred in a passage such as the following, conveying information as to the date of the second Convocation.

Attīe dasaṃe vasse Kālāsokassa rājino;

Sambuddha parinibbāṇa evan vassa satangatan.

years from the last date. The difference between the two, however, consists in that the Tibetan writers allege the second to have taken place in the reign of the celebrated Asoka of Pātālīputta, and the third during the reign of one Kanishka on the North of India, upwards of 400 years A. B.; whereas the Sinhalese version represents that the second occurred in the reign of Kālāsoka, and the third in the 17th year of the reign of Asoka, which would be 325 B. C.

Prof. Max Muller in commenting upon this point,\* intimates as his opinion, that the Ceylonese, by a stretch of their imagination, introduced into their history an intermediate Asoka, and an intermediate Council. But there is no solid ground for such a supposition. That a Council was held about the close of the first century of the Buddhist era, is clear enough from all the accounts on the subject; and this could not have been, as stated in the Tibetan Annals, during the reign of Asoka the Great, for the best evidence which History furnishes us, proves that that monarch commenced to reign 325 B. C., or 218 after Buddha. In whose reign, then, was the Second Council held, which sat about a century after Buddha? The Sinhalese affirm that it was in the reign of one 'Kālāsoka, son of Susināga.' The *Vishnu Purāna*,† and other Indian traditions, fully support this statement. It is clear indeed, that according to the latter, the king who agrees with the Kālāsoka of the Ceylonese

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\* See his History of Ancient Sanskrit, p. 271, et seq.

† Compare Mahawansa with the following account in the *Vishnu Purāna*.

'The next Prince will be Sisunāga; his son will be Kākavarna (36 years v. and m.); his son will be Kshemadharman, (Kshemakharman 20 years v. Kshemadharman 36 years m.); his son will be Kshatraujas, (40 years v.; Kshemajit or Kshemarchis, 36 years m.; Kshetrajna, Bh. P.) his son will be Vidmasāra, (Vimbisāra 28 years, v.; Vindusena or Vindhyaasena 28 years, m.; Vidhisāra Bh.); his son will be Ajātasatru, his son will be Dharbaka, (Harshaka 25 years, v.; Vansaka, 24 years, m.);

is called *Kākavarna*; but this difference is not a sufficient objection against the correctness of the Ceylonese accounts; since both the names, as is often the case, may stand for the same person: and their identity is, moreover, established by the fact, that both historians agree as to *Kākavarna* or *Kālāsoka* having been the son of *Susināga*.\*

It appears, therefore, that the authors of the Tibetan version of the scriptures, which were recorded after the Ceylonese, and long after the events to which they relate, mistook Asoka the Great for Asoka, surnamed *Kālāsoka*, of whom, perhaps, they had never heard; and, having once thrown the second Council into the reign of the first mentioned Monarch, they had no alternative but to fix the third and posterior Convocation as having taken place during the reign of a subsequent celebrated sovereign. There was indeed much reason to name Kanishka. For, next to Asoka Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka † may be regarded

his son will be Udayāśva, (33 years v.; Udibhi or Udāsin, 33 years m.) his son also will be Nandivardhana, and his son will be Mahānanda, 42 and 43 years, v.; 40 and 43 years, m.) These ten Saisunāgas will be kings of the earth for 362 years.

‘The son of Mahananda will be born of a woman of the *Sudra* class; his name will be Nanda, called Mahapadma; for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Parasurāma, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race, for after him the kings of the earth will be *sūdras*. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella, he will have eight sons Sumālya, and others, who will reign after Mahāpadma; and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brahman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas.

‘Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth. Kautilya will place Chandragupta on the throne; his son will be Vindusāra; his son will be Asokavardhana; his son will be Suyasas; his son will be Dasaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Sālīśūka, his son will be Somasarma; his son will be Sasadharman, and his successor will be Vrihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas, who will reign over the earth for 137 years.’

\* *Susunāgassa putto, Asoko āsi mahīpatī, Pāṭaliputta nagaramhi, rajjankāresi Khattiyo.*—*Dīpāvaṃsa*.

† See Rājā Tarāṅgani in the Asiatic Researches, xv.

as the only 'Asiatic princes who were imbued with the virtue of merit, who founded Colleges and Chetiyas, and during whose reign the regions in the North of India were greatly under the spiritual control of Buddhist ascetics preeminent for their rigid piety.\* Perhaps too, the Tibetan account is in this respect correct; and there was, in point of fact, a fourth Council held in the territories of *Kanishka*, of which the Ceylonese knew nothing, and the Tibetans had but a confused notion of the second and third *Sangitis*, which they jumbled together, taking the date of the one, and the name of the Sovereign who reigned at the other.

The above supposition derives great support from the fact noticed by Pr. Muller himself,—that 'the Buddhists of Ceylon did not borrow the outlines of their history either from the Brahmans or from the Buddhists of Magadha;' and also from the peculiarities of language and style which distinguish the Tibetan from the Pali digests of the Sinhalese.

From a paper entitled '*the Peculiarities of the Gāthā style*,' in the Bengal A. S. Journal,† we gather that the Buddhist literature of Nepal, from which the sacred scriptures of Tibet, Tartary, and China have been compiled,‡ is in an ugly Sanskrit dialect, destitute of the niceties of the Sanskrit Grammatical forms of declension and conjugation, &c.; that the authors have sacrificed Grammar to the exigencies of metre; that it is in a mixed style of prose and Gāthās; that it bears a strong resemblance to the Tantras of the 4-7th centuries of the Christian era, and that it appears to be the production of men to whom the task of compilation was assigned without

\* Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Asiatic Society for 1856-8, p. 199.

† By Babu Regendralal Mittra; volume for 1854, p. 604.

‡ Mons. Burnouf regards this as a fact conclusively demonstrated. See his Introduction to the History of Buddhism.

sufficient materials at their disposal. In view of these peculiarities Mons. Burnouf has pronounced the Nepal sacred scriptures to be a barbarous Sanskrit, in which the forms of all ages, Sanskrita, Pali, and Prākṛita, appear to be confounded.\* Referring to the difference of language of the different parts of the *Mahāvaiṣṇava* or 'the highly developed sutras,' the same distinguished Orientalist remarks, that it indicates in the clearest manner, that there was *another digest* besides the compilations of the three great ecumenical convocations of the Buddhists, and that in his opinion the Nepal scriptures comprise a *fourth digest*, which he regards as the crude composition of writers to whom the Sanskrit was no longer familiar, and who endeavoured to write in the learned language they ill understood with the freedom which is imparted by the habitual use of a popular but imperfectly determined dialect. This appears to be exceedingly probable; and, assuming the compilation in the reign of Kanishka to be a fact, there seems to be no reason to doubt, but many circumstances to confirm, the conjecture of Mons. Burnouf—that these sutras were committed to writing out of India in countries on the west of the Indus, or, for example, *Cashmir*,—countries where the learned language of Brahmanism and Buddhism would be cultivated with less success than in Central India. (p. 105.)

Mons. Burnouf's critical observations, and the doubts expressed by Babu Rajendralal, demand a few remarks. In the first place it is necessary to know how the discourses of Buddha were originally written—whether altogether in prose or in verse. They are thus described by Buddhagosa:—

'The whole of the foregoing, comprising in it the nine divisions, are, the *Sūttan*, *Geyyan*, *Weyyākaraṇa*, *Gāthā*, *Udāna*, *Itivuttakan*, *Jātakan*, *Abbhūtaḍḍhamma* and the *Wedduttan*.

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\* L'Histoire du Bouddhisme, p. 164.

'The *Suttan*, be it understood, contains, the two *Vibhaṅga* and (two) *Niddesa*, the *Khandaka* and *Parivāra*, and in the *Suttanipāṭa*, the *Mangala sutta*; *Ratana sutta*, *Nālaka sutta* as well as the *Tuṇḍaka sutta*, and all the other discourses of Tathāgata bearing the signification of *Sutta*.

'Be it understood further, that the *Geyyan* contains every *sutta* composed in *Gāthā* (metre) together with (its prose portions.) The whole of the *Sanguttaka* consists throughout of that description (of composition *being Gāthā together with prose*.)

'The *Weyyākaraṇa*, be it understood, consists of the whole of *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, the *Suttantā* not composed in *Gāthā*, and the words of *Buddha* which are not classified under any of the other eight *Angāni*.

'Be it known the *Gāthā* consists of the *Dhammapadāni* *Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*, and those unmixed (detached) *Gāthā* not comprehended in any of the above named *Suttantā*.

'The *Udāna*, be it known, consists of the eighty two *Suttantā*, delivered (by *Buddha*) in the form of hymns of joyous inspiration.

'The *Itivuttakan*, be it understood, comprises the one hundred and ten *suttantā* which commence with the words, 'It was thus said by *Bhagavā*.'

'The *Jātakan*, be it understood, comprises the five hundred and fifty *Jātakas* (incarnations of *Buddha*) commencing with the *Appanakajātakan*.'

'The *Abbhūṭadhamma*, be it understood, comprises all the *Suttantā*, containing the miracles and wonders, commencing with such expressions as *bhikkhus*. These miraculous and wondrous *dhammā* (powers) are vouchsafed to *Ananda*.'

'The *Vedattan*, be it understood, consists of the *Chūlavēdattan*, the *Mahāvēdattan*, the *Sammādhitti*, the *Sakkapanhā* the *Saṅkhārabhajaniyā* the *Māhāpunnāman*, as well as the

whole of those *Suttantà* which have conferred wisdom and joy on those who heard them.\*

The foregoing extract shews that the sacred compilation of the Buddhists, like the compositions of the Brahmanical *Sūtra* period, which is indeed identical with the date of the Buddhist writings, was partly in prose and partly in *Gāthā* or verse; and that some of the suttans are in *Gāthā* (metre) together with prose. This is a peculiarity in eastern compositions, especially the Pali, to which I wish to invite attention here. Of this the fifth chapter of the *Attanagaluwansa* presents a complete illustration. Where, indeed, poetry is immediately followed by prose, the latter is intended to express something more than the writer has been enabled to do in verse, owing to the restraints of versification. Again, from the nature of the subjects which are treated of in *Gāthās*, it would also seem that poetry was selected for 'joyous hymns,' and also with a view to create a better impression of certain matters than of others, or to render their study easier. This alone, therefore, furnishes no argument against the genuineness of the Nepal works. But the various other traits to which Mons. Burnouf refers, taken in connection with the following extracts from the *Dipāvansa*, satisfactorily explain away the difficulties raised by Babu Rajendralal, whilst at the same time they conclusively prove the correctness of the conjecture that the Nepal collection owes its origin to another digest of the Buddhist literature besides those of the three Convocations, or in the words Pr. Benfey, 'it consists of merely translations from Buddhist sources, which were originally composed in Pali.'† The *Dipāvansa* says:—

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\* Translated from Buddhagosa's *Atthakathā* entitled the *Sumangala Vilāsini*, by the Hon'ble Geo. Turnour, and published in the *Bl. A. S. J.*, vol. vi. p. 526.

† See his *Indien*, p. 194.



- 1.—Nikkaddhità pāpa bhikkhū  
Therehi Vajji puttakā;  
Aññan pakkhan labhivāna  
Adhammavādi bahū janā;
- 2.—Dasa sahaṣṣā samāgantvā  
Akansu dhamma sangahan.  
Tasmāyan dhamma sangītī  
Mahā sangītī vuchchatī.
- 3.—Mahā sangītikā bhikkhū  
Viloman akansu sāsanan;  
Bhinditvā mūla sangahan  
Aññan akansu sangahan.
- 4 — Aññattha sangahītan suttan  
Aññattha akarinsute—  
Atthan dhammañcha bhindinsū  
Nikāyesu cha panchasū.
- 5.—Pariyāyadesi tan vāpī  
Attho nippariyāya desitan;  
Nītatthancheva neyyatthan  
Ajānitvāna bhikkhavo.
- 6.—Aññan sandhāya bhanitan  
Aññattha thapayinsute; -  
Vyanjana chhāyāya te bhikkhū  
Bahū atthan vināsayun.
- 7.—Chhadetvā eka desanča  
Suttan vinaya gambīran;  
Patirūpan sutta vinayan  
Tanti cha akarinsute.
- 8.—Parivāran atthuddhāran  
Abhidhamman chhappakaranan;  
Paṭisambhidanča niddesan  
Eka desanča Jātakan  
Etta kan vissajjivāna  
Aññan na akarinsute.

- 9.—Nàma linga parikkhàran  
 'Akappakaranànicha;  
 Pakatibhàvan vijahitvā  
 Tañcha aññan akansute.
- 10.—Pubbangamā bhinnavādā  
 Mahā sangítī kàrakā;  
 Tesancha anukàrena  
 Bhinnu vādā bahū alū.
- 11.—Tato apara kàlamhī  
 Tasmin bhedo ajāyatha;  
 Gokuliko Ekabbohārī  
 Dvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo
- 12.—Gokulikānan dveva bheda  
 Apra kàlamhī jāyatha;  
 Bahussutikā cha Paññattī  
 Dvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.
- 13.—Chetiyācha puna vādī  
 Mahā sangīti bheda;  
 Pancha vādā ime sabbe  
 Mahā sangīti mūlakā.
- 14.—Atthan dhammancha bhindinsu  
 Eka desancha sangahan;  
 Ganthancha eka desanhi  
 Chha<sup>ad</sup>etvaññan akansute.
- 15.—Nāmalingan parikkhàran  
 'Akappakaranànicha;  
 Pakatibhàvan vijahitvā  
 Tancha aññan akansute.
- 16.—Visuddha therā vādāmhi  
 Puna bhedo ajāyatha;  
 Mahinsāsakā Vajjiputtā  
 Dvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.

- 17.—Vajjiputtaka vādāmhī  
 Chatudhā bhedo ajāyatha;  
 Dhammuttarikā Bhadrāyānī  
 Chānnāgārikācha Sammitī.
- 18.—Mahinsakānan dve bhedā  
 Aparā kalamhi jāyatha;  
 Sabbatthi vādā Dhammaguttā  
 Dvidhā bhijjittha bhikkhavo.
- 19.—Sabbatthivāda Kassapikā  
 Kassapikenapi Sankantikā;  
 Sankantito Suttavādī  
 Anupubbena bhijjatha.
- 20.—Ime ekā dasa vādā  
 Pabhinna thera vādato,  
 Atthandhammancha bhindinsu  
 Eka desancho sangahan;  
 Ganthan cho eka desamhi  
 Chhaddevāna akansute.
- 21.—Nāmalīngan parikkhāran  
 'Akappakaranā nicha;  
 Pakatibhāvan vijahetvā  
 Tañcho aññan akansute.\*
- 22.—Sattarasa bhinnavādā  
 Eko vādo abhinnako;  
 Sabbe vatthā dasa hontī  
 Bhinnavādēna tesaha.
- 23.—Nigrodhova mahā rukkho  
 Therovādāna muttamo,  
 Anūnā'n adhikancheva

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\* It is remarkable that the repetition of an act is conveyed by a repetition of the same stanza—a circumstance which proves the truth of the tradition, that the *Dipāvansa* was compiled by royal chroniclers, to whom it was assigned as a task.

Kevalan Jina sàsanān;  
Kantakā viya rukkhāmhī  
Nibbutā vāda sesakā.

24.—Pathame vassa sate natthī  
Dutiye vassa satantare;  
Bhinnā sattarasa vādā  
Uppannā Jina Sāsane.

‘Many individuals (viz.) ten thousand sinful Vajjian\* *bhikkhūs* who had been expelled by the *theras*, assembled together; and, having formed another party, held a council of *Dhamma*. This is thence called *Mahā Sangīti*.

‘The *bhikkhus* who held the *Mahā Sangīti* reduced the religion into confusion,† set aside‡ the first compilation,§ and made another.¶ They placed in different places the *Suttas* which occurred in different other places, and distorted the sense and the words|| of the five *nikāya*. They did so, ignorant of (the difference between) the general discourses, and those (delivered) on particular occasions, and also (between) their natural and implied significations. They expressed\*\* in a different sense that which was otherwise declared, and set aside various significations under the unwarranted authority (shadow of) words.†† They omitted one portion of the *Sutta*,

\* *Vajji*—a portion of Behar in which the Lichchavi Princes were settled. It is however not stated where the Council was held. Doubtless it was at a distance from the principal seat of Government and Buddhism, which at this period was at *Vesālī* or modern Allahabad.

† *Viloman akansu* ‘made to bristle,’ ‘ruffled,’ ‘crossed,’ ‘reversed,’ ‘confused.’

‡ *bhinditvā*—‘having broken,’ ‘split,’ ‘set aside.’

§ *Sangahan*—from the context I would render this word ‘compilation’ and not ‘rehearsal.’ The acts here related, taken in connection with the original import of the word, can only refer to a *written* and not a *mental* collection.

¶ *Akarinsu* ‘made,’ ‘done,’ ‘effected.’ The same word is used in the following sentence, wherein I have rendered it ‘placed.’

|| *Dhamma* here means phraseology of the Scriptures, as opposed to their *attha* ‘the sense’ or ‘import.’

\*\* *Tṭhāpaysu*—‘They made to stand.’

†† *Vyañjana* ‘letters,’ and in some of the Buddhist writings, ‘words’ or ‘sentences.’

and *Vinaya* of deep import, and substituted\* (their own) version† of them and the text.‡ They left out the *Parivàran* annotations,§ six books|| of the *Abhidhamma*, the *Patissambhidà*, the *Niddesa*, and a portion of the *Jàtakas*¶ without replacing any thing in their stead. They, moreover, disregarded\*\* the nature of nouns, their gender, and (other) accidents,†† as well as the (various) requirements of style,‡‡ and corrupted the same by different forms.

‘The originators of the *Mahà Sangiti* were the first seceders. Many followed their example. Since then, there was a breach in that association and the Priests were divided into two sections—the *Gokulika* and *Ekabbohari*. Subsequently the *Gokulikas* branched off into two others, viz., *Bahusutikà* and *Paññati*. Subsequently still, there arose a schism (called) the *Chetiya*. Then there were altogether five schisms which had sprung up from the *Mahà Sangiti*—the same which was the first (being a sixth).

\* *Patirûpa*—placed another figure or ‘counterpart.’

† From a comparison of the Ceylon and Nepal Versions of the sacred writings I find the latter has three sections, the *Vaipulya*, the *Nidan*, and the *Upadesa*; all which are additions to the original discourses. Compare the following list taken from *Hodgson's Illustrations*, with the list from *Buddhagosa's atthakathà*, ante p. 61. Hodgson says; The *Bauddha* scriptures are of twelve kinds known by the following twelve names, 1 *Sutra*; 2 *Geya*; 3 *Vyākharana*; 4 *Gāthā*; 5 *Udan*; 6 *Nidan*; 7 *Ittyukta*; 8 *Jātaka*; 9 *Vaipulaya*; 10 *Adbhuta dharma*; 11 *Avadan*; and 12 *Upadesa*.

‡ *Tuntin*. The text; see my remarks hereon in the Introduction.

§ *Atthuddhāran* ‘explanatory discourses.’

|| *Pakarana* ‘compilation,’ ‘something made methodically,’ ‘an original composition.’

¶ The version of the *Jātakas* in Ceylon is, I believe, deficient.

\*\* ‘*Akappakarani*—also ‘decorations, embellishments, niceties of style or composition, or figures of speech.’

†† The peculiarities here noticed, when compared with those of the *Gāthā dialect* of the *Nepal Scriptures* (See Essay thereon by *Babu Rajendralal Mitra* in the *Bl. A. S. J.* for 1854, p. 604, et seq.) there can be no doubt of the identity between this *fourth code* of the *Buddhists* and the *Nepal version*. The differences of style therein illustrated by Mr. *Mitra* exactly correspond with the defects of composition here described.

‡‡ *Parikkāran*—‘attributes,’ ‘decorations,’ ‘accidents.’

‘These heretics (also) distorted the sense and the phraseology (of the scriptures); omitted a portion of the (original) compilation, and of the *gàthàs*, and substituted others (in lieu of them). They (further) disregarded the nature of nouns, their gender, and other accidents, as well as the various requisites of style, and corrupted the same by different substitutions.\*

‘In the doctrines of the orthodox priests there was again a breach (which resulted in the establishment) of two sects called the *Mahìnsaka* and *Vajjiputtà*. From the latter arose four sects, called *Dhammuttarikhà*, *Bhadrayàni*, *Channàgàrika*, and *Sammiti*. Afterwards, two (more) schisms, the *Sabbatthivàda* and *Dhammagutta* arose out of the *Mahìnsaka*; and from the *Sabbattikhà* gradually sprung up the *Kassapikhà*, and from the latter the *Sankantika*, and from it the *Sattavàdi* schism. These eleven emanated from the orthodox party.

‘They (likewise) made a compilation by distorting the sense, and the phraseology of the sacred discourses; and by omitting a portion of the text and of the *gàthàs*. They too disregarded the forms of nouns, their gender, and other accidents, as well as the various requirements of style, and corrupted the same by different substitutions.

‘The schisms of the seceders were (thus) seventeen, the *vàda*† of those who had not seceded, was one; and with it there were altogether eighteen sects.

‘Like the great Nigrodha (among) trees, the orthodox discourses alone are supreme among doctrines; and they are moreover the pure (very) word of Buddhà, without retrenchment or addition. The doctrines which have arisen from it are like the thorns of a tree.

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\* “In the *Gàthà*, says Mr. Mitra, we find the old forms of the Sanskrit Grammar gradually losing their impressive power, and prepositions and periphrastic expressions supplying their places, and time-hallowed verbs and conjugations juxtaposed to vulgar slangs and uncouth provincialisms.”

† The word *vàda* which we have differently translated at different places to convey *heresy*, *schism*, &c., means simply as in this place, ‘discourse,’ ‘discussion,’ ‘demonstrated conclusion,’ ‘doctrine,’ ‘principle.’

‘There were no (heresies) in the first century (anno Buddhæ) but in the second, seventeen sprung up in the religion of Buddha.’

Whilst the above passage clearly indicates that there were several codes, different from the orthodox version of the sacred writings, which were authenticated at three different convocations; and that the Nepal version is one of those codes; it would also seem that the compilation in question was made,—not in the *Tantra* period above referred to—not in the age of *Kanishka*, but—in the early part of the second century of the Buddhist era.\* The difference of style is, however, to be accounted for; and it is easily done. The Nepal version is by one century later than the orthodox version; but it is not stated where the unauthorized council of the heretics was held. Those who originated it being priests, who were ‘expelled’ and ‘degraded,’ it may be reasonably inferred that they went out of the *Vajjian* country, which was a part of the Magadha kingdom subject to the Lichchavi princes, and held their *Sangiti* in a distant country, (as it would seem from the writings themselves,†) then subject to the influence of the Brahmins; and M. Burnouf himself, who has examined a portion of the Pali Digha Nikāya and its parallel passage in the Nepal scriptures, thinks, that ‘it is quite possible that these two versions may have been nearly contemporaneous in India, and have been current there from the

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\* I find Prof. Max Muller agrees with me in believing that although the Nepal works have been referred by Oriental Scholars to a much more modern period of Indian Literature, yet it can now safely be ascribed to an ante-Christian era. *Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims*, p. 24.

† Some of the Nepal Scriptures appear to be unauthorized additions from a Brahmanical source; and, as remarked by Hodgson, Upadesa treats of the esoteric doctrines equivalent to tantra, the rites and ceremonies being almost identical with those of the Hindoo tantras, but the chief object of worship, different, though many of the inferior ones are the same.—*Hodgson's Illustrations*.

earliest period of Buddhism, before the events occurred which transported them to Ceylon. The Pali version (he adds) would be popular among the inferior castes and the bulk of the people of Magadha and Oude, while the Sanskrit version was used by the Brahmans.\*

The Vajjian code was not, therefore, as it was once supposed by M. Burnouf, 'the work of a period when Buddhism ceased to flourish in Hindustan;' and, from the facts stated in the *Dīpāṇṣa*, it may fairly be concluded that the anomalies in composition were the result of ignorance, and 'the consequence of haste and inattention,' of Sanskrit and Pali speaking men, who had not a sufficient acquaintance with either for the purposes of compilation, and who therefore amplified the Pali *gāthās* with a Sanskrit paraphrase. It may thence also be inferred, that the code which they then compiled was the basis of the subsequent compilation in the reign of *Kaṇishka*, which has *since travelled* into Nepal, and from thence into Tibet and China. This appears very clear to my mind, from the circumstance that the third Indian compilation of the third century is altogether ignored in the Tibetan writings. For, if it went to Nepal directly after its authentication in the reign of *Kālasoka*, the Nepalese could not make a mistake as to the name of the *Sovereign*; and, if it was taken upon the termination of the third Convocation, in the reign of Asoka the Great, they were not likely to commit an error as to *date*. And again, if the former were the case, the Nepalese were not likely to know any thing of the Cashmirian code, and could not, on the other hand, fail to know of the Convocation in the reign of Asoka. In other words, the facts of the Nepalese, at no great distance from Hindustan, only recognizing the two *Sangītis*, which were held up to the time of the compilation of

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\* Extracted from Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, p. 75.



the heretics, as recorded in the *Dipāvansa*; of their altogether omitting that which took place in the reign of the subsequent Asoka in *Central India*; and of their recording a fourth (as the third) which took place in *the west of India*;—taken in connection with the philological peculiarities already noticed, lead to the inference that the Nepalese did not receive their version until after it had left Hindustan, between the first and fourth centuries, and had travelled on to Cashmire in the reign of Kanishka, when the orthodox doctrines were partly lost, and partly mutilated in Central India.\*

The inferences contained in the preceding notes are not altogether without confirmatory proof. The Chinese traveller Hiouentsang mentions “eighteen sects;” and it is important to bear in mind that one of them is called *Sarvāstivādas*, which is clearly the *Sabbattavāda* of the Pali *Dipāvansa*. The language of the Buddhists, which is called the *Fan*, is the Brahmanical language (the Sanskrit) and not the *Māgadhi*, which we call the *Pali*. For apart from other evidence, such as the existence of a dual number in the language here spoken of, the same word *Fan* is used to designate *Brahmā*. The god *Fan* (*Brahma*) and the king of heaven (*Indra*) established rules and conformed to the times. “Le dieu *Fan* (*Brahma*) et le roi du ciel (*Indra*) établirent des règles et se conformèrent au temps.”† Although the Chinese have confounded *Dharmāsoka* with *Kalāsoka*, yet the time too at which these sectarians flourished, was about the period indicated in the Pali annals, viz., three hundred years after the death of Gotama, when a *Kātyāyana* of *Sarvāstivāda* sect is said to have composed a work *Abhidharma jñāna Prasthāna*.

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\* Vide the discourse of Revata therā in the *Mahāvansa*, p. 251.

† Hiouen-thsang's *Travels*, by M. Reinaud.

As an exercise for the student, and in support of the facts advanced at p. xxvii., the following extracts are here presented:

1.

### MAHA VAGGA.

Tena khopana samayena añña-taro puriso chorikan katvā palāyitvā bhikkhusu pabbajito hoti. Socha ante pure *likhito* hoti—‘yattha passitabbo tattha hantabbo’ ti. Manussā passitvā evam’ahansu—‘ayan so likhitako choro handa nan hanā-mā—ti. ‘Ekaeche evam’ahansu—“māyyā evanavachuttha; anuññātan rañña Māgadhena sàniyena Bimbisàrena, ‘ye samanesu Sākya-puttiyesu pabbajanti na te labbhā kinchi kātun; Svākkhāto dhammo, charantu brahmachariyan sam-mā dukkhassa anta kiriyāyā”—ti. Manussā ujjhāyanti khīyante vipācanti—‘Abhayavarā ime samanā Sākya-puttikā nayime labbhā kinchi kātun, kathan hi nāma likhita choran pabbājessanti’—ti. Bhagavato etam’ attan ārochesun—‘Na bhikkhave likhita choro pabbaje tabbo; yo pabbājeyya āpatti dukkatassā.’

‘At that time a certain person having committed theft, fled, and became a recluse amongst the priests. It was *written*\* of him at the Royal precincts—‘that he shall be punished wherever found.’ People who saw him said (to each other) thus—‘This is that (*recorded*) proclaimed thief,—let us therefore kill him.’ Some said, “Sirs, say not so; it has been decreed by the powerful Bimbisāra king of Magadha,—‘If any person be ordained amongst the priests of the Sākya fraternity, he shall be exempt from all acts (of punishment). (For) the *dhamma* has been well defined by Gotama: (wherefore) let them, with a view to the total extinction of trouble

\* From the following extract which speaks of a ‘leaf pin’ or *stile*, it may be inferred that the writing *material* was the Talipot leaf. *Vide infra*, Sā kira pubbe bhikkhuni hutvā panna-sūchiyā saddhin pattkancha padīpiyatelancha datvā jatissarā bhavēyyanti patthanan thapesi—‘She having been a female ascetic, and having given a *panna-sūchiya* [a leaf-pin] or stile together with a [blank] book, and also oil for the lamp, aspired to a knowledge of what had transpired in previous births.—*Rasavāhini*, p. 42.

pursue (unmolested) the duties incumbent on Religious students." People thence began to enlarge (upon the subject) and speak contemptuously and disparagingly (of the priesthood, saying)—‘These Priests of the Sakya fraternity are fearless—they are exempt from the infliction (of punishment.) But, how is it that they admit into the priesthood a (recorded) proclaimed thief! This, they (the priests) reported to Bhagavà, (who thereupon decreed:) ‘Priests no (likhita) proclaimed thief shall be admitted into the Priesthood: if any should do so, he shall commit *dukkata* or an offence.

## II.

## PAPANCHA SUDANI.

(vol. iii. p. 482.)

Majjhima dese kira Ràjagaha nagare Bimbisàre rajjan-kàrente pachchante Takkasilà nagare Pukkusàti rajjan kàresi. Atha Takkasilàto bhandan gahetvā vānija Ràjagahan āgatā, pannā-kāran gahetvā rājānan addasansu; rājā te vanditvā thite ‘kattha vāsino tumhe’ti pucchhi ‘Takkasilā vāsino devā’ti—‘Atha te rājā janapadassa khemasubhikkhatāḍṇi nagarassa cha pavattin pucchhitvā ‘ko nāma tumhākan rājā’ti pucchhi—‘Pukkusàti nāma devā’ti—‘Dhammiko’ti? āma deva dhammiko chatuhi sangahavatthūhi janān sanganhāti, lokassa mātā-pituttāne thito, anke nipanna dārakan viya janān toseti-ti. ‘Katarasmin vaye vattatīti?’—Athassa vayan āchikkhinsu. Bimbisārena sama vayo jāto. Atha te rājā āha ‘tātā tumhākan rājā dhammikocha vāyēnācha me samāno sakkuneyyātha tumhākan rājānan mama mittan kātun’ti;’ ‘sakkoma devā-ti.’ Rājā tesan sunkan vissajjetvā gehan dāpetva ‘gacchhatha bhandan vikkinitvā gamanakāle man disvā gacchheyyāthā’ti āha. Tathā katvā gamanakāle rājānan addasansu; rājā “gacchhatha tumhākan rājānan mama vachānena punappuna ārogyan pucchhitvā ‘rājā tumhehi saddhin mittabhāvan icchhatī’ti vadathāti āha. Te sādhuṇi patisunivā gantvā bhandan patisāmetvā bhuttapātārāsā rājānan

upasankamitvā vandinsu. Rājā ‘kahan *bhane*\* tumhe ime divase nadissathā’ti puchchi; te sabban pavattin ārochesun Rājā ‘sādhu tātā tumhe nissāya mayā majjhima dese rājā mitto laddhoti attāmano ahoṣi.

Aparabhāge Rājagaha vāsinopi vānijā Takkasīlan agamansu. Te pannākāran gahetvā āgate Pukkusāti rājā kuto āgatattāti puchchhitvā Rājagahatoti sutvā ‘mayhan sahāyassa nagarato āgatā tumhe’ti. āma devāti; ‘arogyā me sahāyassā’ti; ārogyā puchchhitvā ‘ajja patthāya mayhan sahāyassa nagarato jāngasatthena vā sakata satthena vā vānijā āgacchhanti sabbesan mama visayan pavittha kālato patthāya vasanatthānesu gehāni rāja kotthāgārato nivāpan dentu sunkān vissajjentu kinchi upaddavan mā karontū’ti bherincharāpesi. Bimbisāropi attāno nagare tatheva bherincharāpesi. Atha Bimbisāro Pukkusātissa *pannan*† pahini, ‘Pachchanta dese nāma māni muttādāni ratanāni uppajjanti, yā mayhan sahāyassa rājje dassāniyā vā ratanāni uppajjati tattha me māmāchchharāyatū’ti, Pukkusātīpi ‘Majjhima deso nāma mahā jānā pado yā tattha eva rūpan ratanāni uppajjati tattha me sahāyo mā machchharāyatū’ti pannan pahini. ‘Eva te gacchhante kāle añña māñña adisvā dalha mittā ahesun. Eva tesā kathikā katvā vasantānanva pathama tarā Pukkusātissa pannākāro uppajji,—rājā kira attha pancha vāne anaggha kambale labhi, so ‘atisundarā ime kambalā sahāyassa me pesissāmī’ti lakkhagulamatte attha karandake likhāpetvā tesu te kambale pakkipitvā lakkhāya vattāpetvā, setavattthena vethetvā samugge pakkipitvā vatthena vethetvā rājā muddikāya lanchhetvā ‘mayhan sahāyassa dethā’ti amachche pesesi. Sāsānanācha adāsi, ‘aya pannākāro nagaramajjhā amachchādī parivutena datthabbo’ti. Te gantvā Bimbisārassa adansu; so sāsānan sutvā amachchādayo sannipatantūti bherincharāpetvā;

\* A vocative particle or term of address by a superior to inferiors; or by a King to his subjects.

† Probably a letter written on the Talipot leaf.

nagara majjhe amachchādi parivuto setachchhattenā dhāriyamānena pallanka vare nisinnō lanchhan bhinditvā vatthanapanetvā samuggan vivaritvā anto bhaṇḍikaṇ muncitvā lakkhagule disvā, 'mayhan sahāyo Pukkusāti ūna vittako me sahāyoti mañña-māno maññe iman pannākāraṇ pahinī'ti: ekangulan gahetvā hatthena vattetvā tulayanto anto dussa bhaṇḍan atthīti aññasi. Atha nan pallankapāde paharī. Tāvadeva lakkhā paripatī; so nakhena karāṇḍikaṇ vivaritvā anto kambala ratanan disvā itarepi vivarāpesi: sabbesu kambalā ahesun. Atha ne pasārāpesi, te vanna sampannā phassa sampannā dighato solasa hatthā tiriyan attha hatthā ahesun. Mahā jano disvā anguliyō phothesi chelukkhepan akāsi 'amhākaṇ rañño adittha sahāyo Pukkusāti adisvāva eva rūpan pannākāraṇ pesesi;—Yuttan eva rūpan mittan kātun'ti attamano ahosi. Rājā eka mekan kambalan agghāpesi, sabbe anagghā ahesun. Tesu chattāro sammā sambuddhassa pesitvā chattāro attano ghare akāsi. Tato chintesi pachchhā pesentena pathaman pesita pannākārato atirekan pesitun vattati; sahāyena cha me anaggho pannākāro pesito, kinnukho pesemīti kinpana Rājagahe tato adhikaṇ ratanan natthīti. No natthi, mahā puñño rājā api kho panassa sotāpanna kālato patthāya thapetvā tīni ratanāni aññan ratanan somanassan janetun samatthan nāma natthī. So ratanan vichinitun āraddho. Ratanan nāma saviññānakaṇ aviññānakanti duvidhan tattha aviññānakaṇ suvaṇṇa rajatādi saviññānakaṇ indriya baddhan. Aviññānakaṇ saviññānakasseva alankārādi vasena paribhogaṇ hoti, iti imesu dvīsu ratanesu saviññānakaṇ setthan. Saviññānakampi duvidhan tirachchhāna gata ratanan manussa ratananti, tattha tirachchhāna gatan hatthi assādi tampi manussānaṇ upabhogaṭṭha meva nibbattati. Iti imesu dvīsu manussaratanan setthan. Manussa ratanampi duvidhan, itthi ratanan purisa ratananti, tattha chakkavatti rañño uppanna itthi ratanampi purisasseva upabhoggan; iti imesu dvīsu purisa ratana meva setthan. Purisa ratanampi duvidhan, agāriya ratanan ana-

gàriya ratanancha; tattha agàriya ratane apichakkavatti rājā ajjapabbajita sàmanerān panchapatitthitena vandati, iti imesu dvīsu anagàriya ratanam'eva setthan. Anagàriya ratanampi duvidhan sekha ratanan asekhā ratanancha, tattha sata sahasampi sekhanān asekhassa padesan napāpunāti iti imesu dvīsu asekhā ratana' meva setthan. Tampi duvidhan Buddha ratanan sāvaka ratananti; tattha sata sahasampi sāvaka ratanānān Buddha ratānassa padesan napāpunāti, iti imesu dvīsu Buddha ratana meva setthan. Buddha ratanampi duvidhan, pachcheka buddha ratanan sabbaññu buddha ratananti: tattha sata sahasampi pachcheka buddhānān sabbaññu buddhassa padesan na pāpunāti, iti imesu dvīsu sabbaññu buddha ratanan yeva setthan. Sadeva kasmin hi loke buddha ratana saman ratanan nāma natthi, tasmā āsadisameva ratanan mayhan sahāyassa pesessāmiti chintetvā Takkasila vāsino puchchi, 'tāta tumhāka janapade buddho dhammo sangho-ti imāni tīni ratanāni dissanti-ti,' 'ghosopi so mahā rāja tattha natthi dassanan pana kuto-ti. Sundaran tātāti, rājā tuttho chintesi—'Sakkā bhavēyya jana sanga-hatthāya mayhan sahāyassa vasanatthānān sammā sambuddhan pesetun. Buddhā pana pachchantimesu jana padesu na arunan utthapenti, tasmā satthārā gantun nasakkā, Sāriputta Moggallānādayo mahā sāvake pesetun sakkā bhavēyya, mayā pana therā pachchante vasantīti sutvāpi manusse pesetvā te attano samīpan ānāpetvā upatthātu meva yuttan, tasmā therehipi nasakkā gantun; yena pan'ākārena sāsane pesite satthācha mahā sāvakācha gatāviya hontī, tenā kārena sāsanan pahinissāmīti chintetvā chaturatan'āyāman vidatthi matta puthulan nāti tanu nāti bahalan suvanna pattan kārāpetvā tattha ajja akkharāni likhissāmīti pātova sīsan nahāyitvā uposathangāni adhiṭṭhāya bhuttapātārāso apanīta gandha malābharano suvanna sarakena jāti hingulakan\* ālāya hetthato patthāya dvārāni pidahanto pāsādan āruyha disāmukhan siha-

\* Vermilion used as a writing material.

panjaran vivarità àkàsa tale nisìditvā suvanṇa patte akkharāṇi likhanto: 'Idha Tathāgato loke uppanno arahana sammā sambuddho vijjā charana sampanno sugato loka vidū anuttaro purisa dhamma sārathi satthā deva manussānaṇa buddho bhagavā'ti; buddhagune tāva eka pade sena likhi. Tato evan dasa pāramiyo pūretvā Tusita bhavanato chavitvā mātu kuchchhismin patisaṇḍhimgaṇhi; evan loka vivaranan ahoṣi; mātu kuchchhiyan vasamāne idan nāma ahoṣi; agāra majjhe vasamāne idan nāma; evan mahā bhinikkhamanan nikkhanto; evan mahā padhānan padahi; evan dukkara kārīkan katvā mahā bodhi mandan aruyha aparajita pallanke nisinno sabbaññuta ñānan pativijjhi; sabbaññutan pativijjhantassa evan loka vivaranan ahoṣi; sadevake loke aññan eva rūpan ratanan nāma natthi-ti.

Yankinchi vittan idhavā huranyā

Saggesu vā yan ratanan paṇītan

Nano saman atthi Tathāgatenā

Idampi buddhe ratanan paṇītan

Etena sachchena suvatthi hotu—

Evan eka desena buddha gūṇe likhitvā, duttiyan dhamma ratanan thomento, 'svākkhato bhagavatā dhammo sandittiko akāliko ehipassiko opanaiko pachchattan veditabbo viññūhi,' chattāro satipatthānā chattāro sammappadhānā, chattāro iddhi padā panchindriyāni panchabalāni satta bojjhaṅgā ariyo atthangiko maggoti satthārā desita dhammo nāma evarūpocha eva rūpochāti sattatinsa bodhapakkiye eka desena likhitvā;

Yam buddha settho parivannayī suchin

Samādhimā'nan tarikaññamāhu

Samādhinā tena samū navijjati

Idampi dhamme ratanan paṇītan

Etena sachchena suvatthi hotu—

Evan eka desena dhamma gūṇe likhi. Tato tatiyan sangha ratanan thomento 'supatipanno bhagavato sāvaka sangho ujupatipanno bhagavato sāvaka sangho ñāyapatipanno bhaga-

vato sàvaka sangho sàmichipatipanno bhagavato sàvaka sangho yadidan chattàri purisa yugàni attha purisa puggalà esa bhagavato sàvaka sangho àhuneyyo pàhuneyyo dakkhineyyo anjalikaranìyo anuttaran puññakkhettan lokassa,'—kulaputtà nàma satthu dhamma kathan sutvā evan nikkhamitvā pabbajanti, kechi setachchhattan pahāya pabbajanti, kechi uparajjan; kechi senāpatitthānādini pahāya pabbajanti, pabbajitvā pana imancha patipattin pūrentiti chulla sīla majjhima sīla mahā sīlādini eka desena likhitvā chhadvāra sanvaran satisampajaññaṇ chatupachchayasantosan navavidha senāsanan nīvaranappahāna parikam-majjhānābhiññaṇ atthupattin kammattthānāni yāva āsavakkhaya eka desena likhi. - Solasakkhattukan ānāpāna sati kammatthānā vitthāreneva likhitvā satthu sàvaka sangho nāma eva rūpehi cha gunehi samannāgato;

Ye puggalā attha satan\* pasatthā

Chattāri etāni yugāni honti

Te dakkhineyyā sugatassa sāvaka

Ētesu dinnāni mahapphalāni

Idampi sanghe ratanan panītan

Etena sachchena suvatthi hotu--

Eka desena sangha gune likhitvā 'bhagavato sāsanan svākkhātan nīyyānikan sache mayhan sahāyo sakkoti nikkhamitvā pabbajatū'ti--likhitvā suvanṇa pattan sanharitvā sukhuma kambalena vethetvā sàra samugge pakkhipitvā tan samuggan suvanṇa samugge suvanṇamayan rajatamaye rajatamayan manimaye† manimayan pavālamaye‡ pavālamayan lohitan kamaye§ lohitan kamayan masāragallamaye|| masāra gallamayan phalikamaye¶ phalikamayan dantamaye\*\* dantamayan sabba ratanamaye sabba ratanamayan kilanjamaye kilanjamayan samuggan sàrakarande thapesi. Puna sàraka-

\* *Attha satan* is also defined as 108.

† This is probably glass. ‡ coral. § ruby. || emerald. ¶ crystal. \*\* lit. teeth—ivory.



randakan suvanna karandake ti purimanayeneva haritvā, sabba ratana maya karandakan kilanjamaye karandake thapesi. Tato kilanjamayan sàramaye pelāyā'ti; puna vuttanayeneva haritvā sabba ratanamayapelan kilanjamayapelāya thapetvā bahi vatthe nivāsetvā rājamuddikāya lanchhetvā amacheche ānāpesi: 'Mama ānā pavattitattāne maggan alankārāpetha maggo atthūsabha vitthato hotu, chatūsabhattānanan sodhita mattakameva hotu majjhe chatūsabhan rājanubhāvena patiyā-dethāti. Tato mangala hatthin alankārāpetvā tassa upari pallankan paññāpetvā setachchhattan ussāpetvā nagara vīthiyo sitta sammattā samussitadhaja-patāka-kadali-punnagghata-gandha-dhūpa-pupphā-dīhi-supari-manditā kāretvā, attano attano visayappadese eva rūpan pūjan karontūti, antara bhogikānan javanā dūte pesetvā sayan sabbākārena alankāritvā sabba tālavachara-sammissa-balakāya-parivuto pannākāran pesemīti attano visaya pariyantān gantvā amachchassa mukhasāsanā adāsī; 'tāta mayham sahāyo Pukkusāti iman pannākāran patichchhanto orodhā majjhe apatichchhitvā pāsādan āruyha patichchhatū'ti. Evan sāsana datvā pachchanta desaṇ satthā gachchhatīti panchapatiṭṭhitena vanditvā nivatti. Antara bhogī teneva niyāmena maggan patiyādetvā pannākāran nayinsū. Pukkusāti pi attano rajjasīmato patthāya teneva niyāmena maggan patiyādetvā nagaraṇ alankārāpetvā pannākārassa pachchuggamanān akāsī. Pannākāro Takka-silaṇ pāpunanto uposatha-divase pāpuni pannākāran gahetvā gata amachchopi raññā vutta sāsana ārochesi rājā tan sutvā pannākārena saddhīn āgatānaṇ kattabba-kiccheha vichāretvā pannākāran ādāya pāsādan āruyha 'mā idha kochi pavīsī'ti dvāra-rakkhaṇā kāretvā sīhapanjaraṇ vivaritvā pannākāran uchchāsane thapetvā sayan nīchāsane nisinno lanchanaṇ chhinditvā vāsaṇ apanetvā kilanja pelato patthāya anupubbena vivaranto sàramaya samuggaṇ disvā chintesi. 'Mahā parihāro nāyaṇ aññassa ratanassa bhavissatī addhā majjhima dese

sotabbayuttakan ratanan uppannan'ti. Athanan samuggan vivarivà rāja lanchhanan bhinditvā sukhuma-kambalan ubhato viyūhitvā suvanna pattan addasa. So tan pasāritvā 'manā-pāni vata akkharāni samasāsāni samapantīni chaturassānīti ādito patthāya vāchetun ārabhi; tassa idha Tathāgato loka uppannoti buddhagune vāchentassa balava somanassan uppajji. Nava navuti loma kūpa sabassāni uddhaggaalomāni ahesun. Attano thitabhāvan vā nisinna bhāvan vā najānāti: athassa kappakoti-sata-sahashehipi evan dullabha sāsanan sahāyan nissāya sotun labhīti bhīyo balavapīti udapādī. So upari vāchetun asakkonto yāva pīvegapassaddhiyā nisīditvā parato 'svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo'ti dhamma gune ārabhi. Tatrāpissa tatheva ahosi; so puna yāva pīvegapassaddhiyā nisīditvā parato 'supatīpanno-ti' sangha gune ārabhi. Tatrāpissa tatheva ahosi. Atha sabba pariyante ānāpāna satikammatthānan vāchetvā chatukka panchaka jhānāni nibbatesi. So jhāna sukheneva vītināmeti añño kochi datthun nalabati, ekova chullupatthāko pavisati evan addhamāsa mattan vītināmesi.

'Whilst Bimbisāra was ruling in the city of Rājagṛha in the *Majjhimadesa*,\* Pukkusāti was reigning in the city of Takkaṣilā in the foreign regions. At this time some Traders with merchandize from Takkaṣilā† entered Rājagṛha, and, taking along with them presents, saw the king. He inquired of those, who stood rendering obeisance—'of what country are you?' 'We, please your Majesty, (replied they) are residents of Takkaṣilā.' Thereupon the king, having ques-

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\* This is the *Maddhyadesa* of Sanskrit writers—'the middle country' as distinguished from the *Dakṣhinā* or the Dekhan on the south, and the *Himavanta* or the 'snowy region' in the Himalaya. The Hindus describe 'the celebrated Maddhya desa' to be—

Himavad Vindhyayormadhyam

Yat prāg Vinasanā dapi—*Manu*.

'that which lies midway between Himavad and Vindhya, to the east of Vināsa, and to the west of Prayāga.' But see note at p. xxix.

† A collegiate city of great renown in the North-west of *Majjhima*.

tioned them on the affairs of (their) city, and the prosperous condition, and the favorableness, of the seasons of the country—asked ‘what is the name of (your) Sovereign?’ ‘Sire, *Pukkusàti* (is his) name.’ ‘Is he virtuous?’ demanded the king. ‘Yes, your Majesty,’ replied they; ‘he is virtuous—he pleases the people with the four *Sanghavatthu*,\*—occupies the position of a parent† to the world—and, like a suckling on the lap, pleases men.’ ‘What is his age?’ They then stated his age. He was as old as Bimbisàra. Thereupon the king addressed them (and said,) ‘Sons, your king is virtuous (like me), and in age too, he is equal to me; can you make your king a friend of mine?’ ‘We can, Sire,’ replied they; (when) the king remitted their taxes, gave them a house, and said to them ‘Go, and sell your merchandize; and at the time of departure you shall see me.’ When all this had been accomplished, they visited the king at the time of their departure;—and the king said to them, ‘Go; and, after repeated inquiry as to the health of your king in my name,‡ say to him, ‘the king is desirous of your friendship.’ They, (the merchants,) expressed their assent, went their way, arranged their goods, took their morning-meal,§ and having approached their king, accosted him. The king said to them, ‘Men, where (were you)? You were not seen for these (many) days.’ They related all the (fore-going) matters; (to the king), when he, greatly delighted, said; ‘Sons, Sādhū! On your account I have obtained a friend (in the person of) the king of the *Majjhima desa*.’

Sometime after (some other) traders, who were residents of Rājagaha, went to *Takkasilā*. King Pukkusāti, before whom

\* The *Sanghavatthu* are the four pre-eminent virtues of kings, viz. — *dāna* ‘gifts—liberality;’ *piya vachana* ‘pleasing conversation;’ *attha chariyā* ‘fruitful conduct—well being in law;’ and *Samānattatā* ‘regarding all as one’s self.’

† Lit. ‘father and mother.’

‡ Lit. *mama vachanēna* ‘in my language’—‘in my name.’

§ This is a bahuvrīhi compound—*bhutta pāta rāsā*, ‘they-who-ate-the food-of-early-dawn;’ ‘took their breakfast.’

they appeared with offerings, inquired of them from whence they had come; and, when he heard they had come from Rājagaha, he asked them, 'Have you come from the capital of my friend?' 'Yes, your Majesty,' replied the traders. 'Is my friend in health?' demanded the Prince. Having made that inquiry the king caused to be proclaimed, by beat of drums, that 'from this day whenever traders come (hither) from the city of my friend, either with caravans of beasts, or caravans of waggons, they shall all be provided with habitations in their respective localities, and with batta from the Royal Stores from the period of their entrance into my kingdom,—that they shall also be exempted from taxes,—and that in no wise shall they be oppressed.' Bimbisàra also caused a similar proclamation in his own city. Thereafter Bimbisàra sent a leaf\* to Pukkusàti to the effect, that 'precious articles such as gems, pearls, etc., are produced in the *Pachchanta*† regions. Should there be anything valuable or worth seeing in my friend's kingdom; withhold it not from me.' Pukkusàti, in like manner, forwarded a leaf to the effect, that 'the Majjhimadesa is a great country. If similar precious things are produced in it, my friend (too) should not withhold it from me.' Thus these (two) for a length of time were intimate friends without seeing each other. Of these, who had (thus) entered into terms, Pukkusàti first came by a (suitable) object for a present, that is to say;—he received eight invaluable blankets of five colours; and, thinking 'these blankets are beautiful, I shall send them to my friend'—caused eight (round) caskets to be turned, and lackered. Having deposited the blankets therein, (they were) secured round the lid with lacker. They were (then) wrapped in white cloth, and deposited in a chest, which being also covered with

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\* Doubtless, the Talipot leaf is meant.

† Lit. 'the barbarous—wild—unenlightened;' but here the foreign regions are meant; See ante, p. xxix.

cloth, was (stamped) sealed with the king's signet. (This done) he sent Ministers, saying, 'Give this to my friend.' A missive too, was given to the effect, that 'this present is worthy the (inspection) acceptance of him who is surrounded by Ministers in the midst of the city.'

They (the ministers) accordingly went and delivered it to Bimbisàra, who, having heard (its contents), caused by beat of drum, the ministers, etc., to be assembled. Surrounded by them, and seated on the royal\* couch, under the uplifted white state-canopy, in the midst of the capital, he broke the seal, removed the wrapper,† opened the box, and released (untied) its contents; and, when he had seen the round lackered (caskets), he reflected—'my friend Pukkusàti has sent this present under the impression that his friend was (wealthless) poor.' He then took up a casket; and, feeling its weight with his hand, ascertained that it contained an article of raiment; he struck it on a pedestal of the couch, when the lacker (with which it had been seamed) dropped down. When he had opened a casket with (his) nail, he saw that it contained a valuable blanket, and caused the others also to be opened. There were blankets in all when spread, they were beautiful in colour, and soft to the touch; and they were sixteen cubits in length, and eight in width.

The multitude, seeing this, snapped their fingers, waived their garments round their heads; and, highly delighted, exclaimed, 'Pukkusàti, the unseen friend of our king, has sent such a present even without seeing him. Such a personage is indeed worthy of being made a friend.'

The king caused every one of the blankets to be appraised; and they were all found invaluable. Of these he sent four to Buddha, and kept for himself‡ four; and reflected—'One

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\* Lit. vare 'best, excellent.'

† Lit. 'cloth.'

‡ Lit. 'in his own house.'

who returns, should send a better gift than the first. An invaluable present has been sent by my friend. What shall I send (him)? What! Is there nothing more valuable in Rà-jagaha? Yes, there is.\* Though the king is fortunate (in precious things,) yet from the time he entered the path of *Sotàpanna*† no precious thing, save the three *Ratanas*,‡ was calculated to produce delight (to him.) He (however) commenced to find out some precious thing. A *Ratana* or precious thing, is two-fold—*Saviññàna* and *Aviññàna*.§ The latter (comprises such things) as gold, silver, etc.; and the former is that which is associated with the senses. The one (*aviññàna*), as an (article of) adornment, contributes to the enjoyment of the other, (*Saviññàna*.) Thus from among these two ratanas, *Saviññànaka* is chief. *Saviññànaka* are also two-fold, viz., *Brutes* and *Men*. Brutes are (such as) elephants, horses, etc.; and the same exist for the very enjoyment of man. Of these two, therefore, *man* is the chief ratana. The estimable man is also two-fold; that is to say, *male* and *female*. Here too, the female, though born for a universal monarch, is for the enjoyment of the male. Thus of these two also, the very male is the chief. The estimable male is also two-fold—the layman and the recluse. Here again as to the layman, though he be a universal monarch, he makes the five-membered|| obeisance to even a *Sàmanera* of a single day's standing. Thus, of these two also, the very *Recluse* is the chief. The estimable Recluse is also two-fold—*Sèka* and *Asèka* (viz., he who has entered the paths, and he who has

\* *No natthi*—‘not, that there is not’ A double negative to intensify the affirmative. See *Sakuntalā*, pp. 110, and 24, note 1.

† Lit. ‘entrance into the stream’—‘fallen into the path,’ that which is the first stage of sanctification, leading to final bliss.

‡ The three gems; the most inestimable things—objects as precious as *ratana* or ‘gems’—*Jātau jātau yad utkrishitam taddhi ratnam prachakshate*, ‘whatever is best of its kind, that indeed they call *ratna*.’ Hence ‘the three gems’ is an expression for ‘the triad of Buddhism.’

§ See Gogerly's Essay, in the *Friend*, vol. ii. 67.

|| See my Essay on modes of Address, in *C. B. A. S. J.*, for 1856—8.

reached the end of the paths). Of these a hundred thousand of the first cannot equal the least part of one of the latter. Thus of these, Asèka is supreme. He is also two-fold—*Buddha* and *Sāvaka*.<sup>\*</sup> Of these, a hundred thousand of the Sāvaka's cannot equal the least part (atom) of Buddha. Thus, of these the very Buddha is supreme. The inestimable Buddha is again two-fold—*Pachcheka* Buddha, and *all-perfect* Buddha. Here too, a hundred thousand *Pachcheka* Buddhas cannot equal the least part of the all-perfect Buddha. Thus of these two, the all-perfect Buddha is alone supreme. In the world, including (that of) the devas, there is no estimable object (*ratana*) equal to Buddha.

Wherefore (the king) resolving, that 'he would send to his friend this very *incomparable ratana*,' asked of the inhabitants of *Takkasilā*, 'Sons, are there to be seen in your country the three most inestimable objects, *Buddha*, *Dhamma*, and *Sangha*?' They replied 'the very names are not known; † how (therefore) can they be seen?' Saying, 'Sons, very good,' the king with pleasure thus pondered: 'Is it possible, with a view to the people's propitiation, to send Buddha to the residence of my friend? But, Buddhas never remain till the dawn, in the most distant foreign countries. Gotama cannot, therefore, go. The great disciples, such as *Sāriputta*, *Moggallāna*, etc., cannot be sent: and, since it is my duty, on hearing that priests resided in a foreign country, to send for them hither, and to pay attentions to them; (other) priests also cannot go. Since, however, a missive sent (on the dhamma) is the same as if Buddha and his chief disciples proceeded thither, I shall send a letter.' Thus pondering, he caused to be made a plate of gold, four cubits long, and about a span wide, and neither very thick, nor very thin. Thinking that he would write the letter that very morning, he went through his bath, ‡

\* Lit. 'hearer'—'pupil.'

† Lit. 'there is not even that sound.'

‡ Lit. 'washed his head.'

made the *Upasatha* vows;\* took his breakfast, and divested himself of all scents, flowers, and ornaments. Then taking real vermilion into a gold dish, he closed all the doors below, and entered his palace; and, moreover, opening the casements facing the cardinal points, he sat upon the upper-most story,† and wrote‡ on the gold leaf as follows:

“Tathàgata has appeared in this world. He is (*Arahan*,) a highly sanctified Saint. He is supreme Buddha. He is endowed with both *Vijjā* and *Charana*.§ He is (*Sugata*) one who has attained beatitude. He is fully acquainted with the world. He is the best charioteer (who is able to subjugate) men. He is the teacher of gods and men. He is Buddhā, or perfect intelligence. He is worthy of adoration.’ These attributes of Buddha were first written on a small portion;—and (he then described how) having perfected the ten *pāramitās*, or pre-eminent duties, he was born in *Tosita*, and was conceived in his mother’s womb; how that event contributed to the world’s emancipation;|| what happened when he was yet unborn; what took place when he was a householder; how he departed forsaking the world; how he greatly exerted; how, having accomplished difficult acts, and having ascended the region of the *Bodhi*,\*\* and having sat upon his unconquerable seat, he attained to the wisdom of *Omniscience*; how (such a result) contributed to the prosperity of the world; and that such another supreme being was not in all the universe, including the heavens—‘*Yankinchi*, &c.

“Whatever wealth, or whatever most desirable object there may be in this life, or in that which is to come, or in the heavens—the same is not to be compared to Tathàgata. This

\* These are the ‘*Atthangasīla*.’

† *ākāsa* tale—‘story nearest the sky.’

‡ *Akkharāṇi* *likhanto*, lit. ‘writing letters.’

§ See explanation of this at p. xxxiv.

|| *Loka vivaranan*.

\*\* *Ficus religiosa*, the tree under which Gotama became Buddha.



too is a highly distinguishing characteristic of Buddha. By the power of this truth, may there be prosperity!"

Having thus briefly recorded the virtues of Buddha; the inestimable *dhamma* was secondly lauded as follows—"The *dhamma* is well defined by Bhāgavā. It is attended with results immediate, and without lapse of time. It is inviting.\* It is full of import. It should be acquired individually by the wise.' This done, a condensed account of the *Sattatinsa bodhapakkhiya*† delivered by Buddha were given to the effect, that they were the four *Satipatthāna*, the four *Sammappadhāna*, the four *iddhipādā*, the five *indriya*, the five *bala*, the seven *bojjhaṅgā*, and the eight-bodied supreme *magga*.—"Yam buddha, &c.

'Is there a pure thing which the supreme Buddha has enlarged upon; (or in other words, is there) any *Samādhī*, which has been declared (to be productive of) immediate reward; with that *Samādhī*‡ nothing can be compared. This too, is a distinguishing characteristic of the word.§ By the power of this truth, may there be prosperity!'

Thus briefly he wrote the character of *dhamma*; and then, thirdly, praised the inestimable *Saṅgha* as follows: 'The association of Bhagava's disciples|| are well conducted. They live uprightly, prudently, and peaceably. They are (classed collectively into) four pairs; or eight individuals.¶ They are fit objects of charity, are deserving of hospitality, and are worthy of being offered unto. They (stand) to men (in the place of) a merit-productive-field.' This done he briefly wrote that respectable people who had heard the discourses

\* Ehipassiko, lit. that which bids, 'come and see'—it is inviting—not hidden.

† The thirty-seven Elements of Buddhism, for an explanation of them see my *Attanagaluvaṇsa*, note to Chap. iv. § 7.

‡ The act of confining one's mind to the contemplation of doing good.

§ The *dhamma*—"doctrines"—"the word."

¶ The words *bhagavato sāvaka saṅgho* are repeated after every phrase.

|| See note at p. 78.

of Buddha, departed and embraced ascetism; that some did so after abandoning thrones;\*—some after leaving (the high dignity of a) sub-king; and others (that of) General Commander of the Forces; and that when they had so embraced *ascetism*, they pursued the prescribed duties of *chulla-sīla*, *majjhima sīla*, and *mahā-sīla*, etc.† He also gave a brief account of the (religious observances, commencing from) *chhadvāra sanvaran*; *sati-sampajañña*; the four *pachchaya santosa*; the nine kinds of *senāsana*; and *nivaranappahāna*; together with the (prescribed) *hammatthānāni*, and the results of *parikamma*, *jhāna*, and *abhiññā*, until the extinction of distress. Having then amplified on the sixteen-fold *ānā pāna sati hammatthāna*,‡ he wrote that the Society of Buddha's disciples were also endowed with virtues like the following:—"Ye *putgalā*, etc."

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\* *Sétachchhattan*—"the white umbrella;" "the state canopy."

† For an exposition of these duties, see the *Brahmajāla suttan*, translated by the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, in C. B. A. S. Journal, ii. p. 22 et seq.

‡ Some of the theological terms in the above passage, require a brief explanation. *Chhadvāra Sanvara*,—"the closing of six avenues;" "the subjugation of six organs of sensation," which lead to the commission of sin. *Satisampajañña*—"memory,-discretion," "a memorial retention of that which is ascertained by wisdom." *Pachchaya santosa*—"contentment with the *pachchaya*," or the requirements of an ascetic, which are four in number, viz., robes, food, habitation, and medicine. *Senāsana*—"habitations," of which there are nine kinds adapted to the recluse. *Nivaranappahana*—"destruction of that which screens;" "overcoming the obstacles against the leading of a religious life," which are stated to be five, viz., 1. lust, 2. evil design, 3. apathetic indifference, 4. perturbation of the mind arising from irresolution and pride, and 5. doubt upon eight religious matters,—viz. Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, a previous state of being, a future existence, a past-and-future state of being, the causes of continued-existence [see Ceylon Friend for 1839], and vacillation and doubt upon all matters. *Kammatthāni*—forty courses of religious action, such as devout meditation, etc. *Parikamma*, an initiatory rite of ascetism, which ought to be completed before the entrance upon *dhyāna*. It is the fixing of the mind upon one of the four elements, earth, air, fire and water, so as to impress it with the reality of the substance on which the recluse contemplates; and also the continuing to address the element repeating its name (See extract, ante p. xxii.) until the mind attains that degree of absorption, which disables the sentient faculties from discerning any other subject. *Dhyāna* is 'abstract meditation,' of which there are four degrees, each of which being considered a sanctified state or path to *nibbāna*, or the extinction of existence. *ānāpāna sati hammatthāna*; also sixteen modes of devout and abstract meditation by means of drawing the breath etc. See *Gaṇānanda Suttan*.

“Are there eight beings who have been praised by the holy, they are four couples, and are the disciples of Buddha, worthy of being offered unto. Whatever is given unto them is productive of much fruit. This too is a distinguishing characteristic of the clergy. By the power of this truth may there be prosperity!”

Having thus briefly stated the virtues of the *Sangha*, and written to the effect—that ‘the religion of Buddha is well defined—it is very pure. If my friend can, let him abdicate (secular concerns) and embrace ascetism;’—he folded the gold plate, wrapped it with a soft blanket, and put it in a wooden casket. It was again deposited in a gold casket, that in a silver casket, that in a gem-set casket, that in a coral casket, that in a ruby casket, that in an emerald casket, that in a crystal casket, that in a casket made of ivory, that in another made of all sorts of gems, that in another made of mat, and that again in a wooden box. Again, the wooden box was deposited in a gold box, and that [in other boxes] according to the order above indicated, [until you come to] a box set with all sorts of gems—and that in a mat-box. This box was again deposited in a wooden chest, and the same in others in the order above indicated [until you come to] a chest set with all sorts of gems—and that again in a mat-chest. The same being then covered with cloth, and sealed with the signet of the king, he gave [the following] orders to his Ministers: ‘Adorn the path within the limits of my city. Let that path be eight *usabha*\* in width; of which four need only be cleared. But the middle four *usabha* should be prepared (in a manner) befitting royalty.’

Thereafter (the king) caused his royal elephant to be adorned, and to place a chair upon him, and to set (over it) the white canopy of state. He also caused the streets in

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\* A measure of seventy yards. See *Abhidhānapadīpikā*, p. 23.

the city to be purified (and cleaned) by being sprinkled (with water) and swept;—(lined) with flags and banners, plantain trees, and water vessels;\* and (scented) with incense, flowers, &c. He caused running messengers to be sent to the intermediate dwellers† bidding them hold a festival as directed, within the limits of their respective abodes. Being adorned (himself) completely, and escorted by his forces, including the band of musicians, and with a view to the transmission of his gift, the king proceeded to the limits of his city, and addressed his Minister: ‘Son, let not my friend Pukkusāti, in accepting this gift, receive it in the midst of his wives; but let him do so after entering his (own) palace.’ So saying, and making the five-membered‡ obeisance, under the reflection that Buddha (himself) proceeded to the foreign regions, the king returned home. The intermediate dwellers prepared the way as they were bidden, and caused the progressive conveyance of the gift.

Pukkusāti observing the same formalities (which were above described) prepared the way from the limits of his rule, decorated the city, and went to meet the gift. The same reached Takkasilā on the day of *Upòsatha*.§ The minister, who was the bearer of the present, delivered the king’s message. When the king had heard it he paid the necessary attentions to those who accompanied the present, ascended the palace with it, and placed a sentry at the door with orders that none should enter the palace. [This done], he opened the casement, placed the present upon a high seat, and he himself sat upon a low one. He [then] broke the seal, removed the cloth [covering], and opening each gradually from the mat chest to the wooden casket, reflected thus:—

\* Jars or vases filled with flowers, and water.

† Residents between the two states.

‡ See my Essay on Titles of Address in the C. B. R. A. S. 1856—8. p. 261.

§ The Sabbath of the Buddhists, which is the day of the full moon, &c.

'There is nothing remarkable in this. It is (perhaps) the receptacle of a precious thing. Doubtless there has arisen in the Majjhima-desa a ratana worthy of being heard.' Thereafter he opened the casket, broke the royal seal, and, disengaging the soft blanket, saw the gold plate. When he had unfolded it, he (observed) that the characters were indeed pretty, that they were exact in (the formation) of their heads, that they were *quadrangular*,\* and that the lines were all uniform; and commenced to read it from the beginning. Great was his joy on reading that *Tathàgata* had appeared in the world, and of his character. The ninety-nine thousand hairs of the body stood on end in their sockets. He became unconscious as to whether he stood or sat.† Profound was his joy to reflect that he had on account of his friend, heard of the religion which it was difficult to attain even in a hundred thousand kòti of kalpas.‡ He was (thence) unable to [proceed with the] perusal [of the missive,] and therefore sat§ down; and, when his excited feelings had subsided, he resumed to read the characteristics of *dhamma*, [commencing with] *svakkhàto bhagaratà dhammò etc.* Here also the king became [intoxicated with joy] as before; and [therefore] paused (for a while): and when his excitement had again subsided, he returned to the letter, reading the characteristics of the *Sangha*, commencing from *Supatipanna, etc.* Again the king became excited as before. At last having read the *ànàpàna satikammattànan* at the very end [of the letter] he entered upon the four and five-fold *jhànas*.|| He (the king) was thus spending his entire time in the enjoyment of the *jhàna*; and no one was able to see him, except it were a young page who entered (his apartment.) In this manner he spent half-a month.

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\* This proves the character to have been the Nāgarī; See p. cxv.

† 'Whether he stood on his head, or his feet.'

‡ See Glossary to the Mahavansa for an explanation of these terms.

§ Paused for a while.

|| See Hardy's Eastern Monachism, p. 253.

## III.

## MAHA VAGGA.

Tenakho pana samayena àyasmà mahà Kachchàyano Avanti viharati Kuraraghare papâte pabbate. Tena kho pana samayena Sono upàsako kutikanno àyasmato mahà Kachchàyanassa upatthàko hoti: atha kho Sono upàsako Kutikanno yenà-yasmà mahà Kachchàyano tenupasankami, upasankamitvā àyasmantan mahà Kachchàyanan abhivādetvā ekamantan nisīdi. Eka mantan nisinnō kho Sono upàsako Kutikanno àyasmantan mahà Kachchàyanan etadavocha: ‘Yathā yathāhan bhante ayyena mahà Kachchàyanena dhamman desitan ājānāmi nayidan sukaran āgāran ajjhāvasatā ekantapari-punna ekantaparisuddhan sankhalikhitan brahmachariyan charitun. Ichchhām’ahan bhante kesamassun ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni achchhādetvā agārasmā anagāriyan pabbajitun: pabbājetu man bhante ayyo maha Kachchàyano’ ti. Dukkaran kho Sona yāvajjīvan ekaseyyakan ekabhattakan brahmachariyan ingha tvaṇ Sona tattheva agārībhūto buddhānan sāsanan anuyunja kālayuktan ekaseyyan ekabhattan brahmachariyan’ ti. Atha kho Sonassa upāsakassa Kutikannassa yo ahosi pabbajjābhi sankhāro so patippassambhi,—dutiyaṃ pi Sono upàsako Kutikanno [repeated as before from *yenà yasmà* .....to patippassambhi.] tatiyaṃ pi [repeated as before from *yenà yasmà* .....to bhante ayyo mahà Kachchàyano-ti. Atha kho àyasmà mahà Kachchàyano Sonan upāsakan Kutikannan pabbājesi. Tena kho pana samayena Avanti dakkhina pato appa bhikkhuko hoti, atha kho àyasmà mahà Kachchàyano tinnan vassānan achchayena kicchhena kasirena tato tato dasa vaggan bhikkhu sanghan sannipātāpetvā àyasmantan Sonan upasampādesi. Atha kho àyasmato sonassa vassan vutthassa rahogatassa patisallīnassa evaṇ chetaso pari-vitakko udapādi sutoyeva kho me so bhagavā ediso cha ediso chāti nācha mayā sammukhā dīttho gacchheyyāhan tan bhagavantan dassanāya arahantan sammā sambuddhan sacche mam

upajjhāyo anujāneyyāti. Atha kho āyasmā Sono sāyanha samayan patisallānā vutthito yenāyasmā mahā Kachchāyano tenupasamkamī; upasankamitvā āyasmantan mahā Kachchānan abhivādetvā eka mantan nisīdī. Eka mantan nisinno kho āyasmā Sono āyasmantan mahā Kachchāyanan etada vocha. Idha maihan bhante rahogatassa patisallīnassa evan chetasoparivitakko udapādi.—pe—.gachchheyyāhan bhante bhagavantān dassanāya arahantān sammā sambuddhān sacche man upajjhāyo bhante anujāneyyāti Sadhu! Sādhu! Sona, gachchha tvan sona tan bhagavantān dassanāya arahantān sammā sambuddhān dakkhissasi tvan Sona bhagavantān pāsādikan pasādanīyān santindriyān santamānasān uttamadamatha samathan anuppattān dantānguttān santindriyānāgan; tenahi tvan Sona mama vachanena bhagavato pāde sirasā vanda upajjhāyo me bhante āyasmā mahā Kachchāno bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatī'ti. Evancha vadehi Avanti dakkhinā patho bhante appabhikkhuko tinnan me vassānan achchayena kicchhena kasirena tato tato dasa vaggan bhikkhusanghan sannipātāpetvā upasampadan alatthan. Appevanāma bhagavā Avanti dakkhinā pathe appa tarena ganena upasampadan anujāneyya; Avanti dakkhina pathe bhante kantuttarā bhūmi kharā gokantakahatā appevanāma bhagavā Avanti dakkhinā pathe ghanan ghanūpāhanan anujāneyya; Avanti dakkhinā pathe bhante nahāna garukā manussā udakasuddhikā appevanāma bhagavā Avanti dakkhinā pathe dhuvanahānan anujāneyya; Avanti dakkhinā pathe bhante chammāni attharanāni elaka chamman aja chamman miga chamman seyyatāpi bhante majjhimesu janapadesu eragu moragu majjāru jantu.—pe—.\* appeva nāma bhagavā Avanti dakkhinā pathe chammāni

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\* When the same sentence is to be repeated, the mode by which the repetition is avoided by Pali and Sinhalese writers, is by writing the first and last words of the sentence that is to be repeated with a...pe...between them. This is an abbreviation of the word *peyyāla*, implying 'insert' in the sense of—'fill up the gap.' In some of our books 'p' alone occurs, and in others 'la' conveying the same signification as 'pe.'

attharanàni anujāneyya elaka-chamman aja-chamman miga-chamman. \* \* \*

Anujānāmī bhikkave eva rūpesu pachchanti mesu jana padesu vinaya-dhara-panchamena ganena upasampadan. \* \*

\* \* \* [Tatrimē pachchantimā janapadā, puratthimāya disāya *Kajangalonāma* nigamo, tassa parena *Mahā-Sālā*, tato parā Pachchantimā janapadā, orato majjhe. Puratthimadakkhināya disāya *Salalavatī* nāma nadī, tato parā Pachchantimā janapadā, orato majjhe. Dakkhināya disāya *Setākannika* nāma nigamo, tato parā Pachchantimā janapadā, orato majjhe. Pachchhimāya disāya *Thūnannāma* Brāhmanagāmo, tato parā Pachchantimā janapadā, orato majjhe. Uttarāya disāya *Usiraddhajonāma* pabbato, tato parā Pachchantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.]\*

‘At that time the venerable Mahā Kachchāyana lived in a cliff of the *Kuraraghara*† mountain in Avanti; and at the same time *Sona-kutikanna*‡ a lay observer of the ordinances of Buddha§ was an attendant of the venerable Mahā Kachchāyana.¶ He went to the place where Mahā Kachchāyana dwelt, and having bowed to him, took his respectable position; and addressed him as follows:—‘ So far as I have heard the dhamma which was propounded by the venerable Mahā Kachchāyana, it is not easy for a layman to observe *brahmachariya*|| which is the only perfect, the only purest (state) like a turned conch-shell. I desire (therefore) to leave the laity, to enter ascetism, to divest myself of (my) hair and beard, and to put

\* I have transposed the above passage which occurs a little before the paragraph before it; and I omit its translation as the same has been already given at p. xxix; vide supra note.

† Lit. ‘Osprey-nest.’

‡ *Kutikanna* is interpreted in an *Atthakathā* to mean *koti-karna* ‘ear of 100 lacs;’ i. e. wearing an ear-ornament of that value.

§ Upāsaka.

¶ In speaking of the venerable fathers of the Church, Buddhist writers repeat *āyasmā*, which is disregarded in speaking of kings. See preceding extract. In this translation I have omitted the frequent repetition of *Sono Upāsako kutikanno*.

|| It here means the ordinances of ascetism.



on the yellow vesture. Let his Lordship the venerable Mahà Kachchàyana admit me into (the priesthood.)' (The priest replied)—'Sona, the observance of *brahmachariya* (which confines a man) to one seat and one meal is difficult. Wherefore, Sona, be as thou art, a householder. Observe the religion of Buddha, and temporarily preserve the *brahmachariya*\* (which confines thee to) one seat, and one meal.' Upon which the intense desire of Sona to embrace ascetism subsided. [Yet, afterwards,] a second time [did Sona address Mahà Kachchàyana in the same language, and with the same result as before; and] a third time [did he make his application in precisely the same language;] when Mahà Kachchàyana admitted Sona into the priesthood.

At this time there were but few *bhikkhûs* in *Avanti*, the southern province. At the expiration of three years, however, Mahà Kachchàyana, having with trouble and difficulty assembled ten *bhikkhûs* from here and there, conferred on the venerable Sona the ordination of *Upasampadà*. He who held the *vassa*,† being alone, and solely intent upon [the concerns of religion]‡ pondered thus: 'I have only heard that Bhagavà was so and so. I have not seen him face to face. If my *Upajjhàya*§ will permit me I shall go to see the all-perfect Buddha, the Lord worthy of adoration.' So pondering, the venerable Sona rose up in the evening from his contemplative meditation, and proceeded to the spot where Mahà Kachchàyana dwelt; and, making his obeisance, took his respectful distance. This done, he addressed the venerable Mahà Kachchàyana as follows:—'Lord, to me who was alone, and in contemplative meditation a thought has occurred [that I

\* Here the ordinances, such as the *atthasila*, are meant.

† A religious ordinance by which the priest is bound to reside in a place during the rainy season; See *Mahà Vagga* lib iii.

‡ Contemplative meditation.

§ The appellation of the Preceptor who introduces a person for admission into the priesthood, and to whose rights the pupil ultimately succeeds.

should go and see Buddhà.] If my preceptor will permit, I will go and see the all-perfect Buddha, the lord worthy of adoration.' 'Sàdhu! Sàdhu!' (exclaimed Kachchàyana); 'go thou Sona, to see the all-perfect Buddha, the lord worthy of adoration. Sona, thou wilt find Bagavà to be pleasing (to the sight) and producing delight (in the beholder)—(one moreover,) who has subdued the senses, who is of tranquil mind, who has attained to the highest self-control and tranquillity, who has self-controlled, who is [decently] covered, and who is the highest of those who had subjugated the passions. Wherefore, Sona, bow thou unto the feet of Bhagavà with thy head for me,\* saying—'My preceptor the supreme Lord, Mahà Kachchàyana has desired me to bow with my head unto the feet of Bhagavà.' Say also, 'Lord there are but few bhikkhûs in Avanti, the southern country. At the expiration of three years, it was with trouble and difficulty that ten bhikkhûs were assembled from here and there for my ordination. It will (therefore) be well if Bhagavà will permit ordination in Avanti, the southern country by the introduction of a fewer number (of priests.) Since, my Lord, the ground of Avanti, the southern country, is overrun with thorns, is rough, and abounds with *gokantaka*,† it will be as well to permit the use of thicker shoes in Avanti, the southern country. Since, my Lord, the people of Avanti, the southern country prize bathing highly, and esteem purity with water (above all things), it will be as well to permit more frequent bathing in Avanti, the southern country. Since (again), my Lord, in Avanti, the southern country, skins such as sheep-skin, goat-skin and deer-skin are used for coverlets, same as eragu, moragu, majjàru and jantu‡ in the majjhima country; it will be as

\* Mama vachanena—'in my words.'

† The *Ruellia Longifolia*. Rox. It is also applied by some to *Tri-bulus lanuginosus*. But the word here is explained by the commentators to mean 'hard dry clods of earth produced by the print of the feet of cattle.'

‡ These words are not given in our Pali glossaries; nor are they explained by the commentators.

well to permit the use of skins such as sheep skins, goat skins, and deer skins for coverlets. \* \* \* [On the above requests being preferred, Buddha declared] Priests, in (all) foreign countries like this (Avanti) I permit ordination in an assembly of five, one being versed in the Vinaya.

## IV.

## ATTHAKATHĀ OF SANYUTTA NIKĀYA.

Tada majjhima desato sankha vānijakā tan nagaran gantva bhandikan patissāmetvā rājānan passissāmoti pannākāra-hatthā rāja kulā'dvāran gantvā rāja uyyānan gatoti sutvā uyyānan gantvā dvāre tithā patihārassa arochayinsu. Atha rañño nivedite rāja pakkosapetvā nīyādita-pannākāre vanditvā zithe —'tāta kuto āgatatthā'ti puchchi—'Sāvatthito devā'ti. Kinti tumhākan ratthan subhikkhan dhammiko rājā'ti. 'Āma deva'ti. Atthi pana tumhākan desi kinchi sāsanan'ti. 'Deva na sakka uchehitthā mukhehi kathetun'ti. Rājā suvanna bhinkārena udakan dāpesi; te mukhan vikkhāletvā darabālabhi mukhan anjalin pagganhitvā—'deva amhākan dese Buddha ratanan nāma uppannan'ti āhansu. Rañño Buddhoti vachane sutamatte sakala sarīran pharamānan pīti upajjī Tato 'Buddhoti tāta vādeta'ti—'Āma Buddho devā'ti. Evan tikkhattun kathāpatvā Buddhoti varan aparimānan kāyan na sakkā parimānan katunti tasmin yeva pasanno sahasan datvā 'aparan kin sāsanan'ti—Puchchi 'dhamma ratanan deva uppannan'ti. Tampi sutvā tatheva tikkhattun patiññan gahetvā aparampi sahasan datvā puna 'aññan kin sāsanan'ti puchchi. 'Sangharatanan deva uppannan'ti. Tampi sutvā tatheva gahetvā aparanti sahasan datvā dinnabhāvan panne likhitv 'tāta deviyā santikan gachchhathā'ti pesesi. Tesu gatesu amachche puchchhi; 'tāta Buddho loke uppanno tumhe kin parissathā'ti—'Deva tumhe kin kātukāmā'ti; 'Ahan pabbajissāmī'ti; 'mayampi pabbajissamā'ti. Te sab-

bepi gharan vā kutumban vā anopa-loketva-yeva asse aruyha gatā; tadaheva nikkha minsu. Vāñijā Anoḷā-deviyā santikan gantvā panna dassesun. Sā vāchetva raññā tumhākan bahu katan tumhehi kin katan tātāti pucchhi.

‘At that time certain chank traders went to that city (Kukkutavati) from Majjhimadesa. Arranging their baggage, and saying ‘Let us see the King,’ they went with presents in hand to the palace gate. Hearing, however, that the king (Kappina) had gone to the park, they proceeded thither; and addressed the keeper at the gate. When the king was informed (of their arrival) he caused them to be summoned (before him), and inquired of those, who stood before him saluting with presents—‘Sons, whence did you come?’ ‘Your Majesty, from *Sāvatti*.’ What—is your country fertile; and your king righteous?’ ‘Yes, your Majesty,’ replied the traders. ‘What are the tidings of your country?’ demanded the king. ‘Your Majesty (returned the traders) it is impossible to relate them with impure mouths.’ The king (thereupon) caused water to be given (to them) in a golden vase; and when they washed their mouths, and made their obeisance to the direction of Buddha, they said, ‘Please your Majesty, a precious (person)\* called Buddha, has appeared in our country.’ The moment he heard the word “Buddha” joy pervaded every part of his body. Again, said the king, ‘Sons, is he called *Buddha*?’ ‘Yes, your Majesty,’ replied the traders. The king having thus caused them to repeat (the word) three times—and, unable to define the supreme unaccountable wight called *Buddha*, and being (moreover) pleased with the word itself; gave them a thousand (pieces); and asked them ‘What other news?’ ‘Please your Majesty (replied the traders) a precious thing called the *dhamma* has appeared.’ When he had heard this also, he got their assurance thrice as before, and gave them another

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\* A ratana—‘jewel of a person.’

thousand pieces. He again asked them 'What other news?' They again replied, that 'a precious thing called the *Sangha* had arisen.' When he had heard this also, he likewise received (their assurances) and gave them yet a thousand (pieces); and writing the fact of the gift in a leaf,\* sent them saying, 'Sons, go (with this) to the Queen-Consort.' After they had left him, the king said to the Ministers, 'Sons, Buddha has appeared in the world; what will ye do?' 'Please your Majesty,' returned the Ministers, '(we will) whatever it shall please you to do?' 'I shall be a recluse,' rejoined the king. 'We too (shall) enter the priesthood,' added the Ministers. Thereupon all of them, without so much as caring for their homes or families, got upon their horses and went away on that very day. The traders, who went to Queen *Anàjà*, presented the letter to her; and when she had read it, she said to them, 'The king has done much for you; what have ye done?'

## V.

## SUMANGALA VILĀSINI.

Pubbe kira Vajji rājāno ayan choroti ānetvā dassīti ganha-  
tha ran choranti avatvā vinichchhaya mahā-mattānan denti.  
Te vinichchhinitvā sache achorohoti vissajjanti sache choro  
hoti attanā kinchi akatvā vohārikānan denti. Tepi vinich-  
chhinitvā achoro che vissajjenti, choro che Suttadarā nāma  
honti, tesan denti. Tepi vinichchhanitvā achoro che vissaj-  
jenti, choro che Atthakulikānan denti. Tepi tatheva tatvā  
Senāpatissa, Senāpati uparājassa, Uparāja rañño. Rājā vi-  
nichchhinitvā achoro che vissajjeti sache pana choro hoti  
*Paveni Potthakan* vāchāpeti. Tattha yena idan nāma katan  
tassa ayan nāma dandoti *likhitan*. Rājā tassa kiriyan tena  
samānetvā tadonuchchhavan dandan karoti.

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\* Panna 'leaf.'

‘In aforesaid times the Vajjian princes, on a person being brought and presented ‘as a thief,’ surrendered him to the *Vinichchhaya Mahamattà*,\* without saying ‘take this thief (into custody).’ They, upon investigation release him, if innocent; but, if he be (found) a thief, surrender him to the *Vohàrikà*† without doing anything themselves. They (the *Vohàrikà*) too, upon investigation release him, if innocent; but, if otherwise, transfer him to those who are called *Suttadarà*‡ They likewise inquire (into the matter) and discharge him, if innocent; but, if otherwise, assign him to the *Atthakulakà*§ They also, going through the same process (surrender him) to the *Senàpati* (or Commander of the forces)—the *Senàpati* to the *Uparàja* (or Sub-king),—and the *Uparàja* to the King. The Sovereign, after inquiring into the matter discharges him, if innocent; but, if otherwise causes the *Paveni Potthakan*, or the book of Precedents¶ to be consulted. There it is written, such is the punishment to him who has committed such (a crime.) The king upon comparing with that the conduct of the culprit, inflicts a suitable punishment.’

## VI.

## MAHA VAGGA.

Tena kho pana samayena Rājagahe sattārasavaggiyā dārakā.  
 sahāyakā honti \* \* \* \* \* Attha kho Upalissa  
 mātā pitunna etadahosi—‘Sache kho Upāli lekhan sikkheyya.  
 \* \* \* ‘Sache kho upāli lekhan sikkhissati angulio  
 dukkha bhavissanti.’ ‘Sache kho upāli gananan sikkheyya’  
 \* \* \* \* ‘Sache kho Upāli gananan sikkhissati urassa

\* ‘The chief Ministers.’

† *Vohāra*—‘usage,’ ‘customs’—‘laws,’ and *Vohàrikà* ‘the lawyers.’

‡ *Suttadarà*—‘The principal officers who maintained the rules or axioms.’

§ *Atthakulikā*—probably a Council of judges. The term is not explained.

¶ Here is an undoubted reference to a ‘book.’ It is the book of customs; *paveni*, that which is perpetuated from ancient times.

dukkho bhavissanti.' 'Sache kho Upāli rūpan sikkheyya \*  
 \* \* \* Sache kho Upāli rūpan sikkhissati akkhini dukkhā  
 bhavissanti.' \* \* \* 'Sache kho Upāli samanesu  
 Sakkaputtiyesu pabbajjeyya; evan kho Upāli amhākan ach-  
 chayena sukhan jīveyya, na cha kilameyyā-ti.'

'At that time there were in Rājagaha seventeen children  
 who were companions. Upāli was the chief amongst them.  
 .....Afterwards, Upāli's parents pondered: 'It may be desir-  
 able that Upāli should learn *writing*.....But, if he learn  
 to write, his fingers may suffer pain. It is desirable that  
 Upāli should learn *Arithmetic*\*.....Should he learn  
 computation, he would suffer in his mind. It may be desirable  
 that Upāli should learn *drawing*.....Should he learn  
 drawing, his eyes might suffer.....Should Upāli however,  
 become an *Ascetic* in the Sākya fraternity, he would be enabled  
 to live well after our deaths, and would not be distressed.'

## VII.

### ATTHAKATHĀ TO THE DHAMMAPADA.

In the story of Kosambi Setthi, who resorted to various  
 attempts to kill his natural son, *Ghosika*, it is stated:—

\* \* \* Evan sante pana tan setthi ujukan oleketun  
 nasakkoti; kinti nan māreyyanti chintento mama gāmasate  
 āyuttakassa santikan pesetvā mārapessāniti upāyan disvā  
 'ayan me avajātaputto,† iman māretvā vachchakūpe khipatū,  
 evan kate ahan mātulassa kattabbayuttakan jānissāmi'ti'—  
 tassa pannan likhitvā, 'tāta Ghosaka amhākan gāma-sate  
 āyuttako atthi, iman pannan haritvā tassa dehī'ti vatvā pan-  
 nan tassa dasante bandhi. So pana akkharasamayanajānāti.  
 .....Sā (setthi-dīta) kin pana nukho etanti tasmin niddā-

\* *Ganana*—Mathematical or Astrological calculations; Arithmetic,  
 Algebra, &c.

† A son born inferior to the father. i. e. of a mother lower in caste  
 than the father.

yante màtà pitunna aññav'hitatàya apassantanam otarivà tan panna mochetvā àdāya attanogabbha pavisitvā dvāraṇ pidhāya vātapāna vivaritvā akkharasamaya kusalatāya panna vāchetvā, 'aho andhabālo attano marana panna dasante bandhitvā charati sache mayā naditthā assa natthi jīvitaṇ'ṭi, tan panna phāletvā setthissa vachanena aparaṇ panna likhi.

'Such being the case, the *Setthi* could not see him full (in the face).<sup>\*</sup> Pondering how he might cause his death, and devising a means, viz. 'that he would kill him by sending him to the superintendent of his Hundred Estates'—wrote to him a *leaf* as follows—'This is my unfortunate son. Kill him, and put him into the cess-pool. When that shall have been effected, I shall know how to recompense my *Uncle*;<sup>†</sup>—and said, 'Son, Ghosika, there is a superintendent in our Hundred Estates; take this letter, and give it to him.' So saying, he tied the letter to the end of his (son's) garments. He was illiterate. \* \* \* [The story then proceeds to narrate that Ghosika, on his way to the Estates, took lodgings at the house of another *Setthi*; and that his daughter, who heard that the stranger had something tied to his garments], thinking what it could be, came down whilst Ghosika was asleep, and unperceived by her parents, who were elsewhere engaged. Having untied (the knot), and secured the *leaf*, she entered her own room; where, after closing the door, and opening the window, she, who was clever in letters, read the epistle. [That done], she exclaimed 'Alas! this blind idiot goes about with his own death warrant<sup>‡</sup> tied to his garments. If it had not been seen by me, he would (surely) forfeit his life!' So saying, she destroyed that letter, and substituted (wrote) another, as if it had come from the *Setthi*.<sup>§</sup>

\* *Ujuka* 'straight.'

† A term of respect even to an underling, e. g. 'Uncle dhoby.' See C. B. A. S. Journal for 1856-8. p. 238.

‡ Lit. *panna* 'leaf.'

§ Lit. 'in the language of the *Setthi*.'



## VIII.

## SAMANTAPĀSĀDIKA

‘Anujānāmi bhikkave salākāya vā pattikāya vā upanibandhitvā opunjitvā uddisitun’—iti vachanato rukkhā sàramayāya salākāyavā viluvilivatalapannādi-mayāya pattikāya vā asukasasa nāma salāka-bhattan’ti evan akkarāni upanibandhitvā, pachchhiyan vā chivara bhoge vā sabba salākāyo opunjitvā, punappuna hetthup pariya vasena ālolāpetvā, panchanga samannāgatena bhattuddesakena sache’pi thitikā atthe thitikato patthāya no che atthi terāsanato patthāya salākā dātabbā.

‘Whereas it is said: “I permit you, priests, to ascertain (this) by writing on a thin *slip* (ticket) or upon *bark*, and by mixing (the same);”—letters should be formed\* either upon a slip made of the *woody-part of a tree*, or upon a strip of the *Bambu-bark*, the *Talipot-leaf*, *et cetera*, to the effect that ‘(this is) the Food-Ticket answering to such person’s name.’ [This done], all the tickets should be collected into a basket, or the fold of a robe; and, having repeatedly shaken them together so that they may be [moved up-side down] mixed, they should be distributed by the *Bhattudesaka*† of five qualifications,‡ commencing according to the standing orders, if any; or, otherwise, with the seat of the eldest priest.’

## KACHCHĀYANA BHEDA TĪKĀ.

(Note p. lxxii.)

The following extract, which we make from the Kachchāyana Bheda Tīkā, contains the Tradition as to who were the authors of the Supplementary Notes, and examples in Kachchāyana’s Grammar.

\* This is a past participle in the original.

† The person whose business it is to appoint the meals.

‡ The five qualifications are; 1. a knowledge of the affairs regarding the distribution of food; 2 a sense of justice; 3 freedom from ignorance; 4 absence of fear; and 5 exemption from anger.

Tenà'ha Kachchâyana Dìpaniyan.

Sandhimhi eka paññāsan  
 nāmamhi dvi satan bhavē,  
 Atthā rasādhi kanchena  
 kārake pancha tālisan;  
 Samāse attha vīsan'cha  
 dvāsatthi Taddhite matan,  
 Atthā rasa satākkhyāte  
 kite sutta satan bhavē;  
 Unnādimhi cha paññāsan  
 ñeyyan sutta pabhedato;—  
 Sabbān sampinda mānantu  
 cha sata sattati dvecha'...ti.

Imāni sutta sankhyāni ñyāse āgata sutta sankhyāhi nasa-  
 menti; kasmāti che? pakkhepa suttan gahetv ganantā  
 dasādhika satta sata suttāni honti. Imāni suttāni Mahā  
 Kachchāyanena katāni; vutti cha Sanghanandi sankhātena  
 Mahā Kachchāyanen 'eva katā—payogo Brahmādattena kato..  
 ti. Vuttan ch'etan.

“Kachchâyana kato yogo  
 vuttī cha Sanghanandino,  
 Payogo Brahmādattena  
 ñyāso Vimalabuddhinā”...ti.

‘It is said in the Kachchâyana Dìpani—that the distribu-  
 tion of Suttāni may be regarded (as follows, viz. that) there are  
 fifty one (Suttāni) in the (book which treats on) Combination;  
 two hundred and eighteen on Nouns; forty-five on Syntax;  
 twenty-eight on Compounds; sixty-two on Nominal Deriva-  
 tives; one hundred and eighteen on Verbs; one hundred on  
 Verbal Derivatives; and fifty on Unnādi. The aggregate  
 (number is) six hundred and seventy-two.

‘These numbers of aphorisms do not correspond with the  
 numbers appearing in the Nyāsa. To explain wherefore:  
 By the computation of the interpolated aphorisms there are

seven hundred and ten aphorisms. These aphorisms were composed by Mahā Kachchāyana. The Vutti were made by Mahā Kachchāyana himself, (who was also) called Sanghanandi;—and the illustrations by Brahmādatta. So it is expressly stated—that

‘The aphorisms were made by Kachchāyana  
The Vutti by Sanghanandi\*—  
The illustrations by Brahmādatta—  
And the Nyāsa by Vimalabuddhi.’

### NETTI PAKARANA.

(Note p. xxiii.)

When I noticed the arguments advanced against the belief, that Mahā Kachchāyana was the author of the Pali Grammar which is named after him, I had not seen the *Netti Pakarana*, which is also stated to have been written by him. I have since procured a copy, and give, as a specimen of its style, the following selection. From an examination of that specimen I fail to perceive anything in its style, from which it may be concluded that the two works were *not* written by one and the same person. It is, what it professes to be, a very full and complete commentary of the religious matters it treats upon. It combines a commentary with a Dictionary. It quotes passages said to have been expressed by Buddha himself. The metres of the gāthās quoted are clearly Prākṛit. And, from the interpolations of certain notes, which make reference to some of the distinguished members of the Buddhist Convocations, and which are also to be found in the originals, which I have consulted, I am the more fortified in the belief expressed in the Introduction.

\* It will be observed, that the writer's statement, that Sanghanandi was identical with Mahā Kachchāyana, is not borne out by the authority quoted. From the distinct mention of different names for the authors of different parts, viz., the Grammar, its Supplements, its notes, and its principal comment, the Nyāsa; it would seem that Sanghanandi (also called Sankhanandi) was a person different from Mahā Kachchāyana.

Tattha katamo vichayohàro? ‘yan puchchhitancha vissaj-jitancha’ àdi gāthā. Ayan vichayohàro kin vichinati? Padan vichinati, pañhan vichinati, vissajjanan vichinati, pubbàparan vichinati, assàdan vichinati, àdīnavan vichinati, nissaranan vichinati, phalan vichinati, upāyan vichinati, ànattin vichinati, anugītin vichinati, sabbe nava suttante vichinati. Yatà kin bhavē? Yatà āyasmā Ajito Pārāyane bhagavantān pañhan puchchhati—

“Kenassu nivuto loko [icchā yasma Ajito]\*

Kenassu nappakāsati

Kissābhilepanan brūsi

Kinsutassa mahabbhayan...” ti

Imāni chattāri padāni puchchhi tāni. Socha kho eko pañho, kasmā? eka vatthupariggaho. Evanhi āha—‘kenassu nivuto loko’-ti—lokādhittānan puchchhati: ‘kenassu nappakāsati’ ti—lokassa appakāsanan puchchhati: ‘kissābhi lepanan brūsi’ ti—lokassa abhilepanan puchchhati: ‘kinsutassa mahabbhayan’ti—tasseva lokassa mahabbhayan puchchhati. Loko tividho,—kilesa loko, bhava loko, indriya loko. Tattha vissajjanā

“Avijjā [ya] nivuto loko [Ajitāti bhagavā]

Vivichchhā† nappakāsati

Jappābhi lepanan brūmi

Dukkham’assa mahabbhayan...” ti

Imāni chattāri padāni imehi chatuhi padehi vissajjitāni—Pathaman pathamena, dutiyan dutiyena, tatiyan tatiyena, chatutthān chatutthena.

‘Kenassu nivuto loko’ti—pañhe ‘avijjā nivuto loko’ti—vissajjanā. Nīvaranēnāhi nivuto loko, avijjānīvaranāhi sabbe sattā yathāha bhagavā. “Sabba sattānan bhikkhave sabba

\* This passage within brackets is stated by the commentator, to have been interpolated in one of the Buddhist Convocations.

† After this word, I find “pamāda.” It is, I believe, the interpolation of a note.

pànanan sabba bhùtānan pariyāyato ekam'eva nīvaranan vadāmi, yadidan—avijjā; avijjānīvaranā hi sabbe sattā, sabba so cha bhikkhave avijjāya nirodhā chāgā patinissaggā, natthi sattānan nīvaranan ti vadāmi”—tenacha pathamassa padassa vissajjanā yuttā.

‘Kenassu nappakāsati’ti—pañhe vivichchhā,\* nappakāsati’ti vissajjanā; yo puṅgalo nīvaranehi nivuto so vivichchhati, vivichchhānāma vuchchati vichikicchhā—So vichikicchhanto nābhi saddahati, anabhisaddahanto viriyan nārabhati akusalānan dhammānan pahānāya kusalānan dhammānan sachchhi kiriyāya, so idha pamāda’manuyutto viharati; pamatto sukke dhamme na upādiyati; tassa te anupādiyamānā nappakāsanti,—yathā’ha bhagavā—

“Dūre santo pakāsenti  
Himavanto va pabbato;  
Asantettha na dissanti  
Ratti khittā yathā sarā;  
Te gunehi pakāsenti  
Kittiyā cha yasena cha”..ti.

Tena cha dutiya padassa vissajjanā yuttā.

‘Kiss’ābhi lepanan brūsi’ti pañhe ‘japp’ābhi lepanan brūmi’..ti vissajjanā; jappānāma vuchcha-ti tanhā; sā kathan abhilimpati yathā’ha bhagavā—

“Ratto atthan na jā nāti  
Ratto dhamman na passati;  
Andhan taman tadā hoti  
Yan rāgo sahate naran”..ti

Sā’yan tanhā āsattibahulassa puggalassa evan abhijappāti karitvā; tattha loko abhilitto nāma bhavati—tena cha tatiyassa padassa vissajjanā yuttā.

‘Kinsu tassa mahabbhayan’ti pañhe ‘dukkham’assa mahabbhayan’ti vissajjanā. Duvidhan dukkhan kāyikan cha chetasikan cha, yan kāyikan idan dukkhan, yan chetasikan idan

\* “Pamāda” also occurs here.

domanassan, sabbe sattàhi dukkhassa ubbijjanti, natthi bhayan dukkhena sama saman kuto vā pana tassa uttaritaran. Tisso dukkhatà—dukkha-dhukkhatà, viparināma dukkhatà sankhàra dukkha-tà ti, tattha loko odhiso kadāchi karahachi dukkha dukkhatāya muchchati, tathā viparināma dukkhatāya; tan kissa hetu honti loka appābhādhā'pi dighāyukā'pi. Sankhàra dukkha tāya pana loko anupādisesāya nibbānadhātuyā muchchati, tasmā sankhàra dukkhatà dukkhan lokassā ti katvā 'dukkham'assa mahabbhayan'ti—tenacha chatutthassa padassa vissajjanā yuttā. Tenā'ha bhagavā 'avijjā nivuto loko...'ti.

Of the foregoing what is *vichayahāro*? [See] the gāthā—*'Yan pucchhitan cha vissajjitan cha'* etc. What does this *vichayahāro* investigate? It investigates parts of speech [words]. It investigates questions. It investigates answers. It investigates what precedes and follows [the context]. It investigates happy [results]. It investigates ill-effects. It investigates [their] non-existence. It investigates consequences. It investigates means. It investigates canons. It investigates parallel passages. It investigates all the nine-bodied suttans. What is it? Just as in the question propounded of Bhagavā by the venerable Ajita in the section [entitled] *Parāyana*—\*

'Say by what has the world been shrouded?

Wherefore is it not manifested?

Whereby is its attachment?

What is its great fear?'

These four sentences were thus propounded [by Ajita]. They comprise one question. Wherefore? [Because] they take in one matter. He has stated it thus: By [the first sentence] *kenassu niruto loko*, he investigates the abiding cause of the world [living beings]; by [the second] *kenassu nappakāsati* he investigates its non-manifestation; by [the third] *kissābhi*

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\* A section of Sutta Nipāta.

*lepanan brûsi*, he investigates its allurements; and by [the fourth] *kinsutassa mahabbhayan*, he investigates its very dreadful horror. The [loka] world is threefold, viz., world of kilesa,\* world of [bhava], or existence; and the sensible [indriya], world. The explanation of the question [is as follows:]

‘I say the world is shrouded by Ignorance,

‘By doubt is it not manifested;

‘By desire is its attachment,

‘And its horror [proceeds] from Affliction.

The four sentences [first quoted] are explained by the four sentences [last quoted]. i. e., the first [of the former] by the first [of the latter], the second by the second, the third by the third, and the fourth by the fourth.

‘The world is shrouded by ignorance’—is the explanation of the question, ‘by what has the world been shrouded?’ Yes, it is shrouded by an obstacle; yes, all beings are clothed with the obstacle of Ignorance. So it is declared by bhagavā: ‘Priests, I declare that all beings, all lives, all existences have inherently a particular obstacle, viz. Ignorance;—yes, all beings are beclouded by ignorance. Priests, I declare that by completely destroying, abandoning, (and) forsaking Ignorance, (existing) beings have no impediment.’ Hence the explanation of the first sentence is satisfactory.

‘By doubt is it not manifested’—is the explanation of the question, ‘by what has (the world) been shrouded?’ He, who is impeded with an obstacle, doubts. By the (obsolete) term *vivichchhā* (in the text) *vichikichchhā* (doubt) is expressed. [Thus] a person who doubts, is devoid of pure faith. He who is devoid of pure faith, exerts not to destroy demerit, and to acquire merit. He (thus) lives clothed with procrastination. He who procrastinates, fails to practise good deeds [religious

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\* Evil in thoughts, desires, or affections.

and abstract meditation.] He who does not practise them, is not manifested.\* So it has been declared by Bhagavà, that “The righteous are manifested far-and-wide like the Himalaya mountain; (but) the wicked are here unperceived, like darts shot at night. The former are manifested by (their) virtues, fame and renown.” Hence the explanation of the second sentence is satisfactory.

‘By desire, I say, is its attachment’—is the explanation of the question, ‘whereby is its attachment?’ By the (obsolete) term *jappà* (in the text) *tanhà* (or) lust is conveyed. How she forms an attachment is thus stated by Bhagavà:—‘He who is actuated by lust, knows not causes (of things); he who is actuated by lust perceives not what is right. Whenever lust enslaves [lit. bears] a man, then is there a thick darkness.’ Thus the aforesaid lust in an inordinately lustful person becomes (as if it were) a glutinous [substance.] In it the world becomes adhesive. Hence the explanation of the third sentence is satisfactory.

‘Affliction† is its dreadful horror’—is the explanation of the question, ‘what is its great fear?’ Affliction is two-fold; that which appertains to the body, and that which appertains to the mind. That which appertains to the body is pain, and that which appertains to the mind is sorrow. All beings dread affliction. There is no dread equal to that of Affliction (*dukkha*.) Where indeed is a greater than that? Affliction in the abstract is three-fold—inherent misery (*dukkha-dhukkhatà*), vicissitudinary misery (*viparinàma dukkhatà*), and all-pervading misery (*sankhàra dukkhatà*).‡ Hence a being, sometimes, in the course (of transmigration) becomes

\* I have rendered this passage rather freely, without reference to words.

† In the sense of the word ‘trouble’ in the passage—‘Man is born unto trouble.’ Job v. 7.

‡ *Sankhàra*—appertaining to all states of existence, that which comes to existence, exist, and die away.



free from inherent misery.\* So likewise, from vicissitudinary misery.† From what causes? [From] there being freedom from disease, and also from longevity. A being also becomes free from all-pervading misery by means of birth-less *nibban*. Hence, treating the affliction of a being as all-pervading misery, (the reply was), 'Its dreadful horror [proceeds] from Affliction.' Hence the explanation of the fourth sentence is satisfactory. Wherefore Bhagavà has declared:—

*Avijjà nivuto loko, &c.*

'I say, the world is shrouded by Ignorance;—by doubt is it not manifested;—by desire is its attachment;—and its dreadful horror [proceeds] from Affliction.'

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Note to p. i.

Though at the risk of being charged with egotism, I cannot refrain from giving the following as a specimen of modern Pàli, which was presented to His Excellency, Sir Charles MacCarthy, by a large and influential, and at the same time, a very learned body of Buddhist priests, headed by the learned *Sumangala*, whom I have noticed in the Introduction.

1

Paññà-ransippabandhà budha-kumuda-vanan

bodhayanto asesan

Duppaññ'anbhoja-pantin suvipulam'api yo

dûsayanto samantà;

Loken'achinna nàna-vidha-kalusa-tamo-

sanhatim dhansayanto

CHÀRLES MAK-KÀRTHI devo jayati viya sasi

sàdhu Lank' àdhinàtho:

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\* E. g. 'Brahmans'—says the Commentator.

† 'Those who are born in the *arûpa* or the incorporeal world.'

## 2

So vidvā Lankikānan viya piya-janako  
 vajjayanto anatthan  
 Esanto ch'āpi atthan idha sachiva-sabhā-  
 sangame nītikāre;  
 Tesan chārīta-nītipabhuti-hita-kathā  
 y'āpi chhekan pasatthan  
 Mantindan ichchhat'ekan gati-sati-sahitan  
 uchchinitvā gahetun.

## 3

Alan tato tassa samāja-manti-  
 Thānassa viññun suvinīta-chhekan;  
 Nidassayān'-ekamanā samaggā  
 Mayan hi Lankāya nivāsi-bhūtā.

## 4

JAMES DE ALWIS abhidhāna-nātho  
 Ayan vibhāvī naya-nīti dakkho;  
 Sakāya bhāsā'y'api Sihālāya  
 Susikkhito Māgadhikāya ch'āpi.

## 5

Satthesu nekes'vapi Sihalesu  
 Chhando-Nighandu ppabhutīsu sammā;  
 Sevāya chhek'-ā chariy'ā sabhānan  
 Supātavan nāna-balena yāto.

## 6

So Lankikānam'api nīti-paveni-maggan  
 Sammā'va ussahati ve tathato kathetun;  
 Lank'ādhipo yadi tameva samuchchineyya  
 Appevanāma janatāya hitāya ettha.

*Sumangala, and others.*

*Address to Sir Charles MacCarthy, Kt., Governor of Ceylon,  
 &c. &c., by Buddhist priests of Ceylon.*

*[Translated from the Pali.]*

### I.

“May Sir Charles MacCarthy the moon-like illustrious Governor of Ceylon, be exalted! He who delights the lily-like-pandits with the beams of his wisdom; who in every way discourages the vast lotus-field of ignorance; and who destroys the dark-gloom of wickedness which his subjects may practise.

### II.

“This learned (personage), like a generous parent, obviating the ills affecting the Ceylonese, and promoting their good in the Legislative Council of this (Island); is (we are told) desirous of selecting a Councillor, discreet, wise, and renowned; and, moreover, noted for his great tact, and his knowledge of the customs and habits of the Singhalese.

### III.

“Wherefore (all) we, the (undersigned) natives of Ceylon, unanimously beg leave to nominate a fit person for the membership of the said Assembly—one who is well educated, clever, erudite; viz:

### IV.

“James de Alwis. He is an accomplished scholar, highly versed in Law and Polity; and well acquainted with Pali, and most intimately, with his own language—the Singhalese.

### V.

“He has attained to eminence by his natural talents; and has acquired various sciences of the Singhalese, such as

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## CORRECTIONS.

N.B.—The figures in the first column refer to the page, and those in the second to the line reckoned from the top.

\* \* Regard an Italic amongst Roman characters, or a Roman amongst Italics, if a vowel, as a long letter; and, if a *t* or *d* as a lingual.

Page.	Line.	
i.	8	for 'these <i>several</i> ' read ' <i>both</i> these.'
"	9	dele 'both.'
"	20	for 'its <i>composition</i> ' read ' <i>composing</i> in it.'
"	23	for ' <i>amongst</i> a host' read ' <i>with</i> a host'
"	25	for ' <i>of</i> the learned' read ' <i>among</i> the learned.'
iv.	30	for 'sūvattato' read 'suvuttato.'
"	31	for 'gatocha' read 'vatocha.'
"	39	for 'yattācha' read 'yatācha.'
"	40	for 'siyanti' read 'siyanti.'
v.	1	for 'there' read 'theri.'
"	2	for 'three' read 'thera.'
"	22	for 'pitakan' read 'pitakan.'
"	25	for 'Atuvā' read 'Atthakathā.'
"	27	for 'satthi...sangāyetvā' read 'satthi...sangāyitvā.'
vi.	12	for 'chita' read 'ticha.'
vii.	1	for 'Abhidanapadīpikā' read 'Abhidhānapadīpikā.'
"	9	for 'dhamama' read 'dhamma.'
viii.	25 } 4 }	Regard the initial <i>n</i> in 'Neyyan' as ñ.
"	7	for 'nighandu' read 'nighādu.'
"	30	for 'klesa' read 'kilesa.'
x.	2	for 'gnna' read 'gūna.'
"	6	for 'sammagge' read 'samagge.'
"	11	for 'sambodhi' read 'sambuddhi.'
"	17	for 'pāssāda' read 'pāsāda.'
"	27	dele <i>y</i> in 'yesa.'
xi.	16	for 'vohāra' read 'vihāra.'
xii.	3	for 'radient' read 'radiant.'
xiii.	24	for 'Ananda' read 'ānanda.'
xiv.	1	for 'siladi' read 'silādi.'
"	3	for 'Ananda' read 'ānanda.'
"	16	for 'scraped off' read 'erased.'
"	34	for 'sukandan' read 'sukandān.'
xv.	8	for 'waragurūnan' read 'waragurunan.'
"	11	for 'yati' read 'yati.'
"	24	for 'principal' read 'leading.'
xvi.	16	for 'abhivandi yaggan' read 'abhivandiyaggan.'
"	18	for 'subuddhan' read 'suboddhan.'
"	20	for 'buddhā' read 'buddhā.'
"	22	for 'attan' read 'atthan.'
"	32	for 'situttanā' read 'sītuttarā.'

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Page.	Line.	
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iv.	30	for 'sûvattato' read 'suvuttato.'
"	31	for 'gatocha' read 'vatocha.'
"	39	for 'yattâcha' read 'yatâcha.'
"	40	for 'siyanti' read 'siyanti.'
v.	1	for 'there' read 'theri.'
"	2	for 'three' read 'thera.'
"	22	for 'pitakan' read 'piṭakan.'
"	25	for 'Atuvà' read 'Atthakathà.'
"	27	for 'satthi...sangâyetvâ' read 'satthi...sangâyitvâ.'
vi.	12	for 'chita' read 'ticha.'
vii.	1	for 'Abhidanapadîpikâ' read 'Abhidhânapadîpikâ.'
"	9	for 'dhamama' read 'dhamma.'
viii.	25 } 4 }	Regard the initial <i>n</i> in 'Neyyan' as ñ.
"	7	for 'nighandu' read 'nighandu.'
"	30	for 'klesa' read 'kilesa.'
x.	2	for 'gna' read 'gna.'
"	6	for 'sammagge' read 'samagge.'
"	11	for 'sambodhi' read 'sambâdhi.'
"	17	for 'pàssâda' read 'pàsâda.'
"	27	dele <i>y</i> in 'yesa.'
xi.	16	for 'volhâra' read 'vihâra.'
xii.	3	for 'radient' read 'radiant.'
xiii.	24	for 'Ananda' read 'ânanda.'
xiv.	1	for 'sîladi' read 'sîlâdi.'
"	3	for 'Ananda' read 'ânanda.'
"	16	for 'scraped off' read 'erased.'
"	34	for 'sukandan' read 'sukandân.'
xv.	8	for 'waragurûnan' read 'waragurunân.'
"	11	for 'yatî' read 'yati.'
"	24	for 'principal' read 'leading.'
xvi.	16	for 'abhivandi yaggan' read 'abhivandiyaggan.'
"	18	for 'subuddhan' read 'suboddhan.'
"	20	for 'buddhâ' read 'budhâ.'
"	22	for 'attan' read 'atthan.'
"	32	for 'situttanâ' read 'sîtuttarâ.'

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xvii.	18	for 'panchàso' read 'panchaso.'
"	25	for 'let the first be &c.' read 'Let the first preceding consonant be separated from [its inherent] vowel.'
"	27	for 'sententions' read 'sententious.'
xviii.	6	for 'a note' read 'notes.'
"	9	for 'Sāvatti, Pātali, Baranasi' read 'Sāvatthi, Pātali, Barānasi.'
"	25	for 'paṭhama' read 'prathama.'
" 36 & 37		for 'vohara' read 'vihāra.'
xix.	5	insert a) after 'Vedas.'
"	33	insert ‡ before 'Asvalāyana' &c.
xxi.	17	for 'machchan' read 'machchhan.'
"	18	for 'patan' read 'paṭan.'
"	24	for 'puratthima' read 'puratthimā.'
xxii.	3	for 'ghate-patan' read 'ghate-paṭan.'
"	4	for 'ghata-pato' read 'ghata-paṭo.'
"	10	for 'Manosila' read 'Manosilā.'
"	18	for 'Kachchayana Vannana' read 'Kachchāyana vannanā.'
"	19	for 'Achariya' read 'āchariya.'
"	21	for 'āhā' read 'āha.'
xxiii.	13	for 'render' read 'afford.'
"	16	for 'may demand' read 'demands.'
xxiv.	14	for 'works of' read 'works composed in.'
"	16	for 'of which' read 'from which.'
"	21	for 'attempts' read 'attempt.'
xxv.	8	for 'Grammar' read 'Graminars.'
"	10	for 'had borrowed' read 'borrowed.'
"	12	for 'samanna' read 'samañña.'
"	14	for 'appellations' read 'appellations.'
xxvi.	19	for 'metta' read 'mettha.'
"	24	for 'sciences' read 'science.'
"	"	dele 'when' before 'disseminated.'
xxvii.	18	for 'Buddhist ( church, here as elsewhere, read 'Buddhist religion.'
"	27	for 'Angutta' read 'Anguttara.'
xxviii.	4	for 'literary and not the' read 'literary as well as the.'
"	24	for 'vinichchaya' read 'vinichchaya.'
xxix.	2	for 'Neruttukānan' read 'Neruttikānan.'
"	18	for 'Pātaliputta' read 'Pāṭaliputta.'
xxx.	3	for 'ecumenial' read 'ecumenical.'
"	18	for 'Pakatibhāvan' read 'Pakatibhāvan.'
xxxii.	19	for 'Brahman' read 'Brahmā.'
"	27	for 'falcendi' read 'falsificandi.'
xxxiii.	31	for 'mānus' read 'mānuse.'
xxxiv.	4	for 'dibha' read 'dibba.'
"	8	for 'ñānān idhattha' read 'ñānāni idhattha.'
"	10	for 'petā' read 'petā.'
"	30	for 'jānas' read 'jāna.'
xxxv.	12	for 'is well' read 'are well.'
xxxvi.	13	for 'have embraced' read 'embraced.'
"	17	for 'Parasi' read 'Parasu.'
"	33	for 'its' read 'his.'
xxxix.	20	for 'Lessen' read 'Lassen.'
xlii.	7	for 'indeed' read 'entirely.'
"	29	for 'rājā' read 'rāja.'



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xlvi.	30	for 'dvedasa' read 'dvàdasa.'
xlvi.	2	} for 'ràjà' read 'ràja.'
xlvi.	2	
„	2	for 'sigataranti' read 'sighataranti.'
„ 24 & 25		for 'Alasando' read 'Alasandà.'
xliv.	24	for 'adduce' read 'cite.'
xlvi.	5	for 'suttante' read 'sutante.'
„	6	for 'panchante mesu' read 'panchantimesu.'
„ 15 & 16		for 'ratthan' read 'ratthan.'
„	20	for 'matito' read 'màtito.'
„ 21 & 22		for 'puchchhismin' read 'kuchchhismin.'
„	24	for 'dassanattan' read 'dassanatthan.'
xlvi.	29	for 'sthûpa' read 'stûpa.'
xlvi.	6	for 'Brahman' read 'Brahmà.'
„	9	for 'rivalled' read 'vied.'
l.	8	dele 'is' before 'Jou-lai.'
„	22	insert 'proper' before 'occasion.'
li.	1	for 'though' read 'through.'
lii.	33	insert 'S. 367 p. 1.' after 'p. 1.'
liv.	5	for 'Chandrâchar'—read 'Chandrâchâr.'
„	6	for 'bhāsyān' read 'bhāsyān.'
„	„	for 'krit' read 'kritan.'
„	31	for 'vyāchakshānān' read 'vyāchakshānan.'
„	32	for 'vichchinnān' read 'vichchinnān.'
„	„	for 'mahābhāsyān' read 'mahābhāsyān.'
lv.	12	for 'Bl.' read 'Bengal.'
lvii.	9	insert 'himself' after 'Muller.'
lix.	33	for 'A. D.' read 'A. B.' or 'after Buddha.'
lx.	30	for 'ceceded' read 'seceded.'
lxvi.	1	insert 'those about' before 'whom.'
lxix.	29	for 'kenachadevakarāniyena' read 'kenachidevakarāniyena.'
„	31	for 'chaturānnin' read 'chātuvānnin.'
„	34	for 'dhāro' read 'daharo.'
„	„	for 'sūlasa' read 'solasa.'
„	35	for 'sakkhara' read 'sākkhara.'
lxx.	1	for 'pādako' read 'padako.'
„	„	for 'veyyakarano' read 'veyyākarano.'
lxxii.	11	for 'in one' read 'with one.'
lxxv.	10	for 'data' read 'date.'
lxxvii.	33	for 'mahārshibih' read 'maharshibih.'
lxxviii.	11	for 'Abhirādi' read 'ābhirādi.'
„	13	for 'sastresu' read 'sāstresu.'
„	22	for 'atbhutārtham' read 'atbhûtārtham.'
lxxx.	22	for 'Alpabhrāsa' read 'Apabhrāsa.'
lxxxii.	15	for 'Bālikā' read 'Bāhlikā.'
lxxxvi.	3	for 'render' read 'afford.'
„	26	insert 'the language of,' before 'their so-called.'
xc.	21	dele s. in 'initios.'
xcv.	24	for 'of which' read 'from which.'
c.	25	for 'abaddha' read 'ābaddha.'
cii.	29	insert 'a division of' before 'night.'
ciii.	10	for 'prishata' read 'pastatā.'
„	11	for 'charanah' read 'chāranah.'

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ciii.	30	for 'kamà' read 'khamà.'
"	"	for 'kshûra' read 'kshura.'
"	31	for 'khûra' read 'khura.'
civ.	10	for 'ktantad' read 'ktântad.'
"	19	for 'nasô ho va dirgh'-&c., read 'ñasô ho và dirgh-&c.'
"	30	for 'adirghas' read 'adîrghas.'
cv.	1	for 'chitthasya chishthah' read 'chitthasya chishthah.'
"	7	for 'krinmrîngamam' read 'krinmrîngamam.'
"	14	for 'ktvodanîh' read 'ktvodanîh.'
"	18	for 'sodvâgatah' read 'sodhvâgatah.'
"	21	render 'srigâlasya siâlâ siâle siâlakah.'
"	27	for 'many a fact' read 'from many facts.'
cvi	2	insert 'any knowledge of' before 'the Pali.'
"	16	insert 'when' before 'its.'
"	20	for 'when' read 'are.'
cvii.	7	for 'nâra yâ yâdi' read 'narâ yâ'yâdi.'
"	9	for 'bâsare' read 'bhâsare.'
"	12	for 'atthakatha' read 'atthakathâ.'
"	13	for 'mande' read 'mande.'
"	14	for 'katemi' read 'khatemi.'
"	20	for 'nipajâppetvâ' read 'nipajâppetvâ.'
"	21	for '—pentu' read '—penti.'
"	22	for 'gachchante' read 'gachchhante.'
"	31	for 'Ottâ' read 'Ottâ.'
"	32	for 'Kirâthâ' read 'Kiratâ'
"	"	for 'attharasa' read 'atthârâsa.'
cviii.	8	the word 'broomstick' should be 'stick' or 'ticket.' See 'salâka' at p. 103.
cix.	2	for 'Brahmans' read 'Brahmas.'
cx.	12	for 'of a union' read 'arising from a union of.'
cxî.	14	for 'Sanskrit' read 'Sanskrit.'
cxv.	21	for 'pasâritvâ' read 'pasâretvâ.'
cxvi.	3	dele ya in 'Papanchasûdanîya.'
cxvii.	23	for 'game' read 'gâme.'
cxviii.	23	for 'Buddhebi' read 'Buddhebbi.'
"	30	for 'kusmehi' read 'kusumehi.'
"	31	for 'kusma' read 'kusuma.'
cxix.	4	for 'dhânuyâ' read 'dhenuyâ.'
cxx.	14	for 'turyam' read 'tûryam.'
cxxi.	25	for 'vires' read 'vis.'
cxxii.	29	for 'Ambatta' read 'Ambatthâ.'
"	31	for 'Attaka' read 'Attaka.'
cxxiv.	2	for 'sahâ' read 'saha.'
"	3	for 'Brahmanâ' read 'Brâhmanâ.'
"	"	for 'panâti' read 'pânâti.'
"	4	for 'vechane' read 'vachanena.'
"	15	for 'tesu' read 'tîsu;' and for 'Attaka' read 'Attaka.'
"	16	for 'kathâ' read 'katâ.'
"	18	for 'vâdhâdi' }
"	20	for 'vadâdi' } read 'vadhâdi.'
"	21	insert 'etc.' after 'vedesu.'
"	23	for 'Attaka' read 'Attaka.'
"	31	for 'vimata vinodana' read 'vimatî vinodanî.'
4	20	insert 'the' before 'third person.'

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12	25	insert 'by that tense' before 'into English.'
14	27	for 'roars' read 'hisses.'
15	3 & 4	for 'chattiyati' read 'chhattiyati.'
"	14	for 'chatta' read 'chhatta.'
19	8 & 10	for 'bhu' read 'bhû.'
30	20	for 'gamiyati' read 'gamīyati.'
35	17	for 'ghata' read 'ghata;' and observe that all examples from that root should likewise be expressed by a lingual <i>t</i> .
36	5	Likewise here.
39	27	for 'niyanti' read 'niyyanti.'
44	6	for 'kàrapayati' read 'kārāpayati.'
47	9	for 'obhavo' read 'abhavo.'
48	last line,	insert '1856—8. p. 247.'
54	30	for 'kākanda' read 'kākanda.'
56	6	for 'Buddā' read 'Buddha.'
"	18	for 'Kutāgāra' read 'Kutāgāra.'
58	9	insert 'version' after 'Ceylonese.'
60	13	insert 'which' before 'they.'
61	4	for 'Tuwataka' read 'Tuwataka.'
"	9	for 'Sangutta' read 'Sanyutta.'
"	12	for 'Pitaka' read 'Pitaka.'
"	31	for 'Vedattan' read 'Vedallan.'
"	32	for 'dattan' read 'dallan.' (twice.)
"	"	for 'Sammādhitti' read 'Sammāditthi.'
"	"	for 'Sankhārabhājaniyā' read 'Sankhārabhājaniya.'
"	"	for 'māhāpunnāman' read 'mahāpunnamāyu.'
62	27	insert 'of' after 'words.'
63	1	for 'nikkaddhita' read 'nikkad <del>dh</del> hita.'
"	26	for 'gambira' read 'gambhira.'
64	2 & 26	} for 'akappakaranā' read 'ākappakaranā.'
65	20	
"	21	for 'vijahetvā' read 'vijahitvā.'
66	3	for 'nibbutā' read 'nibbattā.'
72	8	for 'evam'āhansu' read 'evam'āhansu.'
"	9	for 'evanavachuttha' read 'evam'avachuttha.'
"	14	for 'khiyante' read 'khiyanti.'
"	"	for 'Abhayavarā' read 'Abhayūvarā.'
"	16	for 'attan' read 'atthan.'
73	20	} for 'puchchi' read 'puchchhi.'
74	2	
75	7	for 'paripati' read 'paripaṭi.'
80	13	for 'passaddiyā' read 'passaddhiyā.'
93	9	dele 'bhante.'
"	"	for 'Sadhu' read 'Sādhu.'

### CORRECTIONS OF THE TEXT.

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- Cap. II §. 2 for සා ඉව්ව read ස ඉව්ව.  
„ §. 15 for රැබා හිනො read රැබාදිනො.  
„ §. 17 for සංවුණෙති read සංවුණෙති.  
III §. 15 for ජිහව්වති read ජිහව්වති.  
„ §. 19 for අගම read අගම.  
IV §. 12 for වාසස read වාසස.  
„ §. 36 for ජයති read ජයති.
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		Zend, a dialect . . . . .	lxxv., cxi.
		Zendavastà . . . . .	lxxv.

# ආකෘතියානකපොත.

ප්‍රවේශය

## CHAPTER FIRST.

ආකෘතියානකගරමඵලානති නරභයා  
ධාතුප්‍රලං විකරණගමනාල මිණං  
ලොපානුබකරයමත් විහාගතිරං.  
ධීර නරනති කවිනො පුඵබ්බි නාමා.  
විචිතනසංඛාර පරිකම්භං ඉමං  
ආකෘතියාසද්දං විපුලං අසෙසනො  
පණමස සමුඛ මනනනගොචරං  
සුගොචරං යං වදනො සුනාථ මෙ.

1. අථ \* පුබ්බානි විහතතිනං ඡ පරසසපදනි.

a අථ සබ්බාසං විහතතිනං යානි යානි පුබ්බානි ඡ පදනි තා  
නි තානි පරසසපදසඤ්ඤනි ගොනානි ~~~~~ තං යථා - හි, අනානි;  
සි, ථ; මි, ච.

පරස්සපදමිච්චණෙන කුණො? 'කහතරිපරස්සපදං.'

2. පරණන්තනනොපදනි.

a සබ්බාසං විහතතිනං යානියානි පරණි ඡ පදනි තානිතානි  
අනනනො පදසඤ්ඤනි ගොනානි ~~~~~ තං යථා නෙ, අනෙන;  
සෙ, වෙහ; ඵ, වෙහ.

අභතනො පදමිච්චණෙන කුණො? 'අභතනො පදනිතාවෙච කම  
මණි.'

3. වෙ වෙ පඨම මජ්ඣිමුත්තමපුරිසා.

a තාසං සබ්බාසං විහතතිනං පරසසපදනමනනනොපදනාඛ  
වෙචෙපදනි පඨම මජ්ඣිම උතතම පුරිසසඤ්ඤනිගොනානි ~~~~~  
තං යථා හි, අනානි, ඉති පඨමපුරිසා; සි, ථ, ඉති මජ්ඣිමපුරිසා;

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\* අධිකාරෙවමගලෙවෙච, නිපථනො අවධාරණ:  
අනන්තරො පදනෙ, අභිසද්දෙ පවිත්තනි.

මි, ම, ඉති උතතමපුරිසා; අතතගොපදනිපි තෙ, අතොන,  
ඉති පඨමපුරිසා; සෙ, වෙහ, ඉති මජ්ඣමපුරිසා; එ, මෙහ, ඉති  
උතතමපුරිසා—එවංසබ්බත්ථ.

පඨම මජ්ඣමපුරිසා ඉච්චණෙන කුච්ඡො? 'නාමමිති පසුඤ්ඤා  
මානෙපි තුලකධිකරණෙපඨමො'; 'තුම්හෙ, මජ්ඣමො'; 'අම්හෙ,  
උතතමො.'

#### 4. සබ්බසංකප්පානිකානො පරෙපුරිසො.

a සබ්බසංකප්පානිකානො පඨම මජ්ඣමපුරිසානං එකානිකා  
නො පරෙපුරිසොගගෙනබ්බොසො ච පඨති, තෙ ච පඨ  
නති, චිං ච පඨති, තුමෙහ ච පඨති, අහං ච පඨාමි=මයං පඨාම;  
සො පචති, තෙ පචනති, චිං පචති, තුමෙහ පචති, අහං පචාමි=  
මයංපචාම: එවංසෙසාපු විහතතිපු පරෙපුරිසො ගොපෙතබ්බො.

#### 5. නාමමිති පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි තුලකධිකරණෙ පඨමො.

a නාමමිති පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි අප්පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි තුලකධිකරණ  
පඨමොපුරිසොගොතිසොගච්ඡති, තෙගච්ඡනති; අප්පසු  
ඤ්ඤාමානෙපි ගච්ඡති, ගච්ඡනති.

තුලකධිකරණෙති කිමත්ථ? 'තෙන හඤ්ඤාසෙ චිං දෙවදබ්බතන.'

#### 6. තුමෙහ මජ්ඣමො.

a තුමෙහ පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි අප්පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි තුලකධිකරණ  
මජ්ඣමොපුරිසොගොතිසොගොති, තුමෙහොථ; අප්පසුඤ්ඤා  
මානෙපි යාමි, යාමි.

තුලකධිකරණෙති කිමත්ථ? 'තා පච්චතෙ ඔදනො.'

#### 7. අමෙහ උතතමො.

a අමෙහ පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි අප්පසුඤ්ඤාමානෙපි තුලකධිකරණ  
උතතමො පුරිසොගොතිසොගොති, අහංයජමි, මයංයජම; අප්පසුඤ්ඤා  
මානෙපි යජමි, යජම.

තුලකධිකරණෙති කිමත්ථ? 'මයාඉඤ්ඤාතෙවුබ්බො.'

#### 8. කාලෙ.

a කාලෙ ඉවෙච්ඡං අධිකාරත්ථං චෙදිතබ්බං.

#### 9. වතනමානාපච්චුප්පනො.

a පච්චුප්පනොකාලෙ වතනමානා විහතතිගොතිසොගොති 'පාචලි  
පුතං ගතං ති; 'සාවතං පටිසංති; 'විහරතිපෙතවතො'.

#### 10. ආනාතානසිඨේ ආනාතානාලෙ පචමි.

a ආනාතානානසිඨේ ආනාතානාලෙ පචමි විහතති  
ගොතිසොගොති 'කරෙතූනුසලං; 'උදංතෙගොතූ.'



11. අනුමතිපරිකාපයෙන් ස්ථානමි.

a අනුමතයෙන් පරිකාපයෙන් අනුගතකාලය සතනමිච්ඡා  
තනිගොති—‘කිංගවජයනසි;’ ‘කිමගංකරෙයනමි.’

12. අපච්චිකෙකපරෙකකාවිතො.

a අපච්චිකෙක අභිතෙකාලය පරෙකකාවිතතනිගොති—  
‘සුපිතෙකකිලඵලමාග;’ ‘ඵලංකිලපොරණ ආනු.’

13. භියොප්පභුතිපච්චිකෙක භියතනති.

a භියොප්පභුති අභිතෙකාලය පච්චිකෙකවා අපච්චිකෙකවා භිය  
තනති විතතනිගොති—‘සොමගනංඅගමා;’ ‘තෙ අගමු මගනං.’

14. සමිපෙජ්ජනති.

a අජ්ජප්පභුති අභිතෙකාලය පච්චිකෙකවා අපච්චිකෙකවා සමිපෙ  
ජ්ජනති විතතනිගොති—‘සොමගනංඅගමි;’ ‘තෙමගනංඅගමු.’

15. මායොගෙසබ්බකාලෙව.

a භියතනති අජ්ජනති ඉච්චතා විතතනියො යදමායොගො  
තදසබ්බකාලෙවගොනති—මා ග මා, මා ව වා; මා ග මි, මා  
විවි—වසඤ්ඤාගතොන පච්චිකෙකතනිගොති: මාගච්ඡාසි.

16. අනාගතො භවිස්සනති.

a අනාගතකාලය භවිස්සනති විතතනිගොති—සොගච්ඡි  
ස්සති, සාකරිස්සති; තෙගච්ඡිස්සනති, තෙකරිස්සනති.

17. තිරියානිපණ්ණනිතොකාලානිපනති.

a ක්‍රියාතිපණ්ණමතො අභිතෙකාලය කාලානිපතනිගො  
ති—‘සොචෙ තං යානං අලහිස්සා අගච්ඡිස්සා;’ ‘තෙ චෙ තං  
යානං අලහිස්සංසු අගච්ඡිස්සංසු.’

18. වතතමානා නිඅනති සිථිමිම තෙඅතො සෙවො  
ඵලො.

a වතතමානා ඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤාගොති—හි, අනති; සි, ඵ; මි,  
ම; තෙ, අතො; සෙ, වෙහ; ඵ, වෙහ—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනාං  
පදනං.

වතතමානඉච්චතෙකතො? ‘වතතමානා පච්චුප්පතො.’

19. පච්චි නුඅනතු හිථිමිම තං අනාංසසුචො ඵාභමසෙ.

a පච්චිඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤාගොති—තු, අනතු; හි, ඵ; මි, ම; තං,  
අනාං; සසු, වෙහ; ඵ, ආමසෙ—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනාං පදනං.  
පච්චිඉච්චතෙකතො? ‘ආනාහනසිද්ධිනුතානාලෙ පච්චි.’

20. සතනම් එය් එය්සු එය්සසි එය්නථ එය්නම් එය්නම  
එථ එරං එථො එය්නවෙනා එය්සං එය්නවෙන.

a සතනම්ඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤගොති—එය්, එය්සු; එය්සසි, එය්න  
ථ; එය්නම්, එය්නම: එථ, එරං; එථො, එය්නවෙනා; එය්සං, එය්න  
වෙන—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනානං පදානං.

සතනම්ඉච්චණෙන කුචො? ‘අනුමතිපරිකප්පචෝසු සතනම්.’

21. පරෙකකා අ උ එ ත් අ මහ ත් රෙ තොවෙනා ඉච්චෙන.

a පරෙකකාඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤගොති—අ, උ; එ, ත්; අ, මහ: ත්,  
රෙ; තො, වෙනා; ඉ, මෙන—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනානං පදානං.

පරෙකකාඉච්චණෙන කුචො? ‘අපච්චකෙකිපරෙකකාතිනෙ.’

22. භියතනනි ආ උා ම ත් අ මහා ත් ත්ථිං සෙ වහං ඉං  
මහසෙ.

a භියතනනිඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤගොති—ආ, උා; ම, ත්; අ, මහා:  
ත්, ත්ථිං; සෙ, වහං; ඉං, මහසෙ—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනානං පදානං.

භියතනනිඉච්චණෙන කුචො? ‘භියොප්පභුති පච්චකෙකිභියතනනි.’

23. අජ්ඣනනි ඊ උං ම ත් ඉං මහා ආ උාසෙ වහං අමෙන.

a අජ්ඣනනිඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤගොති—ඊ, උං; ම, ත්; ඉං, මහා;  
ආ, උා; සෙ, වහං; අ, මෙන—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනානං පදානං.

අජ්ඣනනි ඉච්චණෙන කුචො? ‘සමිපෙජ්ඣනනි.’

24. භවිසොථාති සොති සොථාති සොසි සොථි සොමි සොම  
සොරො සොරොති සොසෙ සොවෙන සොං සොමෙන.

a භවිසොථාතිඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤගොති—සොති, සොථාති; සොසි,  
සොථි; සොමි, සොම: සොතෙ, සොරොති; සොසෙ, සොවෙන; සොං,  
සොමෙන—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනානං පදානං.

භවිසොථාති ඉච්චණෙන කුචො? ‘අනාගතෙහවිස්සන්ති.’

25. කාලාතිපතති සො සොංසු ලෙස සොථි සොං සොමො  
සොථි සොංසු සොසෙ සොවෙන සොං සොමෙන.

a කාලාතිපතතිඉච්චසාසඤ්ඤගොති—සො, සොංසු; ලෙස,  
සොථි; සොං, සොමො: සොථි, සොංසු; සොසෙ, සොවෙන; සොං, සො  
මෙන—ඉච්චතෙසං වාදසනානං පදානං.

කාලාතිපතතිඉච්චණෙන කුචො? ‘කිරියාතිපතො තිතො කාලා  
තිපතති.’

26. සියතනානි සතනම් පච්ඡි වතානමානා සබ්බධානුකං.

a සියතනානාදයො වුතයො සබ්බධානුක සංඝො, ගොති ආගමා, ගච්ඡන්තී, ගච්ඡති, ගච්ඡති.

සබ්බධානුක ඉච්චිකෙත්තකයෝ? 'ඉකාරගමො අසබ්බධානුකමිති.'

ඉති ආකෘතිකතකපටෙ පඨමොකඛො.

## CHAPTER SECOND.

1. ධාතුවිගෙහි පරායවයා.

a ධාතුවිගඉච්චිතෙහි පරායවයාගොනානි කරෙති, ගච්ඡති; යොගොති කරෙති තං සුබ්බන්තමං සංඝො, 'කරෙති' ඉච්චිවං චුචිති = 'කාරෙති'; අප්වා කරෙන්නං පයොපයති = 'කාරෙති'; සංඝොපබ්බතමිව අනතානාමාවරති = පබ්බතායති; සමුද්දමිව අනතානාමාවරති = සමුද්දයති; එවං සමුද්දො විචිච්චමිව අනතානාමාවරති = විචිච්චායති; වසිස්ස අපච්චං = වාසිස්සො — එවමඤ්ඤපි යොජෙතබ්බො.

2. නිජගුපතිතමානෙහි ධජසා වා.

a තිජ, ගුප, කිත, මාන, ඉච්චිතෙහි ධාතූහි, ධජසා ඉච්චිතෙපච්ච යාගොනානි වා තිතිකති, ජිගුපති, තිතිජති, විමංසති. වාතිකිමසි? 'තෙජති, භොජති, මානෙති.'

3. හුජසහරසුපාදිති තුම්ච්චිත්තසුච.

a හුජ, සස, හර, සුප, ඉච්චිවමාදිති ධාතූහි තුම්ච්චිත්තසුච ධ, ජ, ස, ඉච්චිතෙ පච්චයාගොනානි තොතතුම්ච්චිති = ධුතූකති; සසිතුම්ච්චිති = ජිසච්චිති; හරිතුම්ච්චිති = ජිහංසති; සුපිතුම්ච්චිති = සුසුසති; පාතුම්ච්චිති = පිවාසති.

වාතිකිමසි? 'භොත්තුම්ච්චිති.'

තුම්ච්චිත්තසුචිතිකිමසි? 'හුජති.'

4. ආයනාමනො කතානුපමානාද්වාරෙ.

a නාමනොකත්තු පමානා ඉච්චිතසො ආචාරත්ථ ආයස්සව යොගොති පබ්බතායති, විචිච්චායති — එවමඤ්ඤපි යොජෙතබ්බො.

5. ඊ සුප මා නා ව.

a නාමනො උපමානා ආචාරත්ථ ඊයස්සවයොගොති අනතං ජනමිව ආචරති = ජනතිසති; අනුතං පුතමිව ආචරති = පුතතිසති.

උපමානාතිකිමත්ථං? 'ධම්මමාචරති.' අචාරසේතිකිමත්ථං? 'පඤ්ච මච රක්ඛති'—එවමඤ්ඤපියොපෙතබ්බා.

#### 6. නාමමිඛා නාති චජ්ඣෙත්ථ.

a නාමමිඛා අතතතො ඉච්ඡෙත්ථ ර්‍යපච්චයොගොති ~~~~~ අතතතොපනාමිච්ඡෙති=පනතියති; එවං චජ්ජියති, පරිකාරී යති, චචරීයති, ධනීයති, පටීයති.

අත්තිච්ඡෙති කිමත්ථං? 'අඤ්ඤස්සපඤ්ඤාමිච්ඡති'—එවමඤ්ඤපියොපෙතබ්බා.

#### 7. ධාතුතිණ්ණ ඤාය ඤාපෙ ඤාපයා කාරිතාති හෙත්ථෙත්ථ.

a සබ්බෙතිධතු තිණ්ණ, ඤාය, ඤාපෙ, ඤාපයා ඉච්චෙත්තෙපච්චයා ගොනාතිකාරීතස ඤ්ඤාචගෙත්ථෙත්ථ ~~~~~ යොගොචිකගෙති 'තං කුඛ්ඛනාමඤ්ඤාකගෙති' ඉච්චෙත්ථමුච්චිති, අච්චා කගෙත්තා පයොපෙති=කාරෙති, කාරයති, කාගපෙති; කාගපයති, යෙකෙ චිකගෙනාති තෙකුඛ්ඛනොති අඤ්ඤා 'කගෙත්තකගෙත්ථ' ඉච්චෙත්ථ මුච්චනාති=කාරෙනාති, කාරයනාති, කාගපෙනාති, කාගපයනාති; යොගොචිපච්චි තමඤ්ඤා 'පචාති' ඉච්චෙත්ථමුච්චිති අච්චා පච නාතංපයොපෙති=පාචෙති, පාචයති, පාචාපෙති, පාචාපයති; යෙකෙචිපච්චනාති තෙ පචනොතිඅඤ්ඤා 'පච්ච පච්ච' ඉච්චෙත්ථමුච්ච නාති=පාචෙනාති, පාචයනාති, පාචාපෙනාති, පාචාපයනාති; එවං භගෙනාති, භගායති, භගාපෙනාති, භගාපයති; භුණෙනාති, භණයති, භණපෙනාති, භණපයති: තථර්ච අඤ්ඤපියොපෙතබ්බා.

හෙත්ථෙත්තිකිමත්ථං? 'කගෙති; පචති' ~~~~~ අත්ථග්ගහණෙන උප පච්චයොගොති 'භෙත්ථෙති.'

#### 8. ධාතුරුපෙ නාමසමා ඤායො ව.

a තයමා නාමසමාඤ්ඤාපච්චයොගොති කාරීතස ඤ්ඤාච ධාතු රුපෙ ~~~~~ හත්ථිනාඅතිකාමතිමග්ගං=අතිහත්ථියති; විණ්ණ උපහායති=උපවිණ්ණයති; දඋගංකගෙති විනාසං=දඋගයති; විසු ඩාගොති රනති=විසුඬයති.

වසඤ්ඤාහගණෙනාති ආර, ආල, ඉච්චෙත්තෙ පච්චයාගොනාති; 'අනතරෙති' 'උපකාමාලුති.'

#### 9. භාවකමෙමසු යො.

a සබ්බෙතිධාතු තිභාවකමෙමසුයපච්චයොගොති ~~~~~ ඝීයතෙ, චුජ්ඣයතෙ, පච්චතෙ, ලබ්භතෙ, කාරීයතෙ, ඉජ්ජතෙ, උච්චතෙ. භාවකමෙමසුකිමත්ථං? කගෙති, පචති, පඬති.

යොග්ගහනෙනාති අභාවකමෙමසුපිඨපච්චයොගොති: 'දග්ගලුති.'

10. නය්‍ය වචන යකාර වකාරනාං සධාසිතනාය.

a තය්‍ය යප්‍යවයය වචන යකාර වකාරනාං ගොති ධාතූ  
 තෙනා සහයථාසමචං. වුවනෙ, වුවනෙන; උවනෙ,  
 උවනෙන; මජ්ඣනෙ, මජ්ඣනෙන; පවනෙ, පවනෙන; චූජ්ඣ  
 නෙ, චූජ්ඣනෙන; සුජ්ඣනෙ, සුජ්ඣනෙන; කුජ්ඣනෙ, කුජ්ඣ  
 නෙන; උජ්ඣනෙ, උජ්ඣනෙන; භඤ්ඤනෙ, භඤ්ඤනෙන; කය්‍ය  
 නෙ, කය්‍යනෙන; දිබ්බනෙ, දිබ්බනෙන.

11. ඉ ව ඡණ්ණා ගමො වා.

a සබ්බෙතිධාතූහි යමිති පච්චයෙපරෙ ඉවඡණ්ණාගමොගොති  
 වා. කාරියනෙ, කාරියනාති; ගච්ඡියනෙ, ගච්ඡියනාති.  
 වානිතිමසිං? 'කය්‍යනෙ.'

12. පුබ්බරූපව.

a සබ්බෙති ධාතූහි යප්‍යවයො පුබ්බරූපමාපජ්ජනෙවා. වූ  
 ධ්වනෙ, ඵලලනෙ, දමනෙ, ලඛනෙ, සකකනෙ, දිස්සනෙ.  
 වානිතිමසිං? 'දමනෙ.'

13. යථානාතරිව.

a යථා භාවකමෙසු යප්‍යවයයො දෙසොගොති තථා කතා  
 රියප්‍යවයයො දෙසොකතනබ්බො. චූජ්ඣති, විජ්ඣති, ම  
 ඤ්ඤති, සිබ්බති.

14. භූවාදිතො ආ.

a භූඉවෙච්ච මාදිතො ධාතූහි තො ආප්‍යවයොගොති කතා  
 රි. භවති, පඨති, පචති, යජති.

15. රුධානිතො නිග්ගහිත පුබ්බව.


a රුධිඉවෙච්ච මාදිතො ධාතූහි තො ආප්‍යවයොගොති ක  
 තාරිපුබ්බ නිග්ගහිතාගමොගොති; රුධති, හිඤ්ඤති, ජිඤ්ඤති.  
 වසඤ්ඤාගමොගොති ඉ, රි, ඵ, ඔ, ඉවෙච්ච පච්චයාගොනාති නිග්ග  
 හිතපුබ්බව; රුධති, රුධති, රුධති, සුභෙගොති.

16. දිවාදිතො යො.


a දිවාදිතො ධාතූහි තො යප්‍යවයොගොති කතාරි. දිබ්බති,  
 සිබ්බති, සුජ්ඣති, විජ්ඣති, චූජ්ඣති.

17. ස්වාදිතො ඡු ඡු උ ඡු ව.


a සුඉවෙච්ච මාදිතො ධාතූහි තො ඡු ඡු උ ඡු ඉවෙච්ච

පව්වයාගොනානි නතනරි  අහිසුණෙහි, අහිසුණෙහි; සංවුණෙහි, සංවුණෙහි; ආවුණෙහි, ආවුණෙහි; පාපුණෙහි, පාපුණෙහි.


### 18. කියාදිවොණ.

a කිඳුවෙව්වමාදිතො ධාතුගණතොණප්පව්වයොගොනි නතනරි  කිණෙහි, ජිනෙහි, වුනෙහි, ලුණෙහි, පුණෙහි.


### 19. ගහාදිවොප්පණ්ණාව.

a ගහඉවෙව්වමාදිතො ධාතුගණතො ප්ප, ණයා, ඉවෙව්වතෙ පව්වයාගොනානි නතනරි  ප්පෙහි, ගණයෙහි.


### 20. නනාදිවොමයිර.

a තනුඉවෙව්වමාදිතො ධාතුගණතො ම, සිර, ඉවෙව්වතෙ පව්වයාගොනානි නතනරි  තනෙහි, තනෙහි, කතෙහි, කතෙහි, කතෙහි, කතෙහි.


### 21. වුරදිවොණෙණයා.

a වුරඉවෙව්වමාදිතො ධාතුගණතො ණ, ණය, ඉවෙව්වතෙ පව්වයා ගොනානි නතනරි  වොරෙහි, වොරෙහි; චතොනෙහි, චතොනෙහි; මතොනෙහි, මතොනෙහි.



### 22. අනතනොපදනි භාවෙච කමමණි.

a භාවෙකමමණිච අනතනොපදනි ගොනානි  උව්වතෙ, උව්වතෙ; ලභිතෙ, ලභිතෙ; මජ්ඣතෙ, මජ්ඣතෙ; සුජ්ඣතෙ, සුජ්ඣතෙ; කය්‍යතෙ, කය්‍යතෙ.

### 23. කතනරිච.

a කතනරිච අනතනො පදනි ගොනානි  මඤ්ඤතෙ, ගෙවතෙ, සොචතෙ, සොභතෙ, බුජ්ඣතෙ, ඡයතෙ.

### 24. ධාතුප්පව්වයෙහි විභතතිශයා.

a ධාතුනිද්දිශෙහි පව්වයෙහි ධාදිකාරිතනෙහි විභතතිශයා ගොනානි  තිතිකෙහි, ජිනෙහි, විමෙසෙහි: තවානංසමුද්දමිච අනතනොපදනි  සමුද්දෙහි; පුතතිශෙහි, පාවෙහි.

### 25. කතනරිපරසපදං.

a කතනරිපරසපදංගොනි  කතෙහි, පච්චි, පච්චි, ගච්චි.

26. හුවාදයො ධානවො.

n හුඳුවෙව මාදයො යෙ සඤ්භණ් තෙ ධානු සංඤ්භොන්  
 කිංකරිති, හවිනි; පවති, පවනි; වරති; විනායති; හ  
 වති.

ඉති ආකෘතිකතනපො දුතියොනවො.

CHAPTER THIRD.

1. කුවාදිවණ්ණානා වෙකස්සරණං වෙහාවො.

n ආදිහුතානං වණ්ණානං ඵකස්සරණං කවිවෙහාවොගො  
 කිංකරිති, ජිහුවති, තිතිවති, විමංසති, බුහුකති,  
 පිවාසති, දඤ්ඤති, ජහාති, චංකමති.

කවිති කිමන්? 'කමති, චලති.'

2. පුබ්බො බහාසො.

n වෙහුතස්ස ධානුස්ස යොපුබ්බො සො අබ්බාස සංඤ්භො  
 කිංකරිති, දදාති, බහුව.

3. රසො.

n අබ්බාසෙ වතතමානස්ස සරස්ස රසොගොතිංකරිති,  
 දදාති; ජහාති.

4. දුතිය චතුත්තානං පඨම නතියා.

n අබ්බාසගතානං දුතිය චතුත්තානං පඨම තතියාගොන්  
 කිංකරිති, විවෙජ්ඣති, බුහුකති, බහුව, දදාති.

5. කවගහස්ස චවගො.

n අබ්බාසෙ වතතමානස්ස කවගහස්ස චවගොගොතිංකරිති,  
 විකිවති, ජිහුවති, ජිහවති, චංකමති, ජිහිංසති, ජංගමති.

6. මානාකිත්තානං චතත්තංවා.

n මානාකිත ඉවෙවතෙසං ධාතුනං අබ්බාසගතානං චකාර  
 තකාරතනංගොතිවා යථාසංඛ්‍යං විමංසති, තිතිවති.

වාති කිමන්? 'විකිවති.'

7. හස්සරණ.

n හකාරස්ස අබ්බාසෙ වතතමානස්සරණංගොතිංකරිති, ජහාති,  
 ජුචති, ජුගොති, ජහාර.

8. අනාසස්සිවණ්ණාකාරොවා.

n අබ්බාසස්ස අනාසස්ස ඉවණ්ණාගොති අකාරොවාංකරිති,  
 ජිහුවති, පිවාසති, විමංසති, ජිහවති, බහුව, දදාති.

වාති කිමන්? 'බුහුකති.'

## 9. නිගන්වනිම.

a අබ්බාසාසාපුරෙහි නිගන්විතාගමොගොතිවා  වංකම  
ති, වසඤ්ඤති, ජගමති.

මානිකිමය. ? 'පිටිමානි, දරුවාලෙහි.'

10. නැතහොත්ම චාමුණ්ඩිය.

a. නතරතා අඩවිකාසනතා පාමානං ධාතු භං වාමං ඉවෙච්චතෙ ආ  
 දෙසාගොනාතිවා යථාසංඛ්‍යං සෙත්‍යච්චගෙයපරෙ පිචාසති,  
 චිමංසති.

11. ସିଂହ କିଲେ ସିଂହ.

“ ඒවා ඉවත්වන සෑම ධනාත්මක බලයක්ම විනාශ කළාය” කියති,  
 කියති; නිවැරදි, නිවැරදි.

මානි කියමනි. ? 'සිංහි.'

12. ଆ ପିତୃତ୍ବ.

a පාලනවලිකයා බාහුයා පිබාදෙසොගොතිවා  පිබති, පිබිතු, පිබෙය්.

විනිශ්චය. ? 'ප්‍රති.'

13. සැසි රු රත් නා.

၁။ နန္ဒာ့စွဲစွဲတရား သာသနာတော်, ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရား, နာမရတနာတော်တို့  
 တရားတော်, နာမတော်, နာမတော်, နာမတော်, နာမတော်.

වැනිකිමනි. ? 'විකුණුයනි.'

14. နိဗ္ဗာန်ပရိယောဂ်ကဿါး။

අ දිසමුච්චනස්ස ධාතූස්ස පස්ස, දිස්ස, දකඛ මුච්චතෙ ආදෙසා  
භොජාතිවා...පස්සති, දිස්සති, දනතිති.

වෘත්තිමය? 'අරුභ.'

15. ව්‍යුත්පන්නතාක්ෂණයටම ජනප්‍රියවියෙහි.

a ව්‍යුත්පන්නයන් බාහුණුවාලෙහි ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨයෙහි ප්‍රතිචාරය, භූමිකාව, භූමිකාව, භූමිකාව.

16. କୋରସେ.

ව්‍යුත්පන්නයන් බාහුණ කොහොති බැහැරවෙන්නේ  
නිතිනිති, බලනිති.

17. භාරයන්ගිංසෙ.

4. හරඹවෙමින් සිටින බාහිර සබඳතාවයන් හිමි ආදේශනාගාරී සංස්කෘතික සැලකීමක් පිළිබඳව.

18. බුදුගුණමාහ හුවාපරෙකධායං.

“ බ්‍රිහද් ඉච්චතෙසංධාතූපාං ආහ, හුච්, ඉච්චතෙ ආඥසා  
 ධොරත් පරොහාධායං විභතායං ~~ආහ~~ ආහ, ආහ, ඛහුච්, ඛහුච්.

ପଦ୍ମାବତୀ : କିପରି ? ‘ହାଲୁକା’.





## CHAPTER FOURTH.

1. သုတေသနအခြေခံမူလ.

“ දඹුලුවනෙහි බාහුසූ අනාගත අංගොත් මිත්‍රදායක  
 දැමූ දින, දින.”

2. අසංයෝගානුභවයෙහි බිකාරිභාවය.

[illegible]

අසංයෝගාත්තස්සෙතිකිංකරි? 'මත්තයති, මත්තයති.'

### 3. အိတ်ဒီအင်္ဂါ.

a ආදිකාං වාතුකාං අසංයෝගානුකූලාං චෛත්තව්‍යාකාරී  
තෙජොබාවති, සතෙති, භාවයිති, භාවාපේති, භාවාපයති,  
භවාපයති; ශාමෙති, ශමෙති, ශාමයිති, ශමයිති.

ଜପାଡ଼ିବାମିନିକିଭବେ ? ‘ଆଚେନି.’

#### 4. අනෙකුත් සුඛ.

[illegible]

## 5. ဂရုတစိုက်စာချုပ်စီစဉ်။

α. ග්‍රහදූෂ ඉවලව්‍යවහසං ධාතු ආං සරෙ දිසමාපස්සතෙ කාරි  
තෙ ~~ග්‍රහයති~~ ග්‍රහයති, දූෂයති.

6. වච වස වහා දිනමුකාරුවසසය.

a වට වස වග ඉචෙවමාදිනං ධාතුනං චකාරස් උකාරෙ  
 හොති යෙපචගෙපරෙ ~~සුචචගෙ~~ උචචගෙ, වූචචති, වූස්සති, වූයති.

## 7. အစီအစဉ်အရေအတွက်

[illegible]

8. ගවයන්ගේ ස්වභාවය.

“ ගහලුවෙකුට සාධාරණ සම්පන්නතාවයක් ලෙස කාර්යයක් සිදු කළ  
විට, ඔහුට සම්පන්නතාවයක් ලෙස පැවතීම.”

### 9. පාලනායුතුව.

“ ගහඉවෙතිසස ධාතුසස හසාරසස ලොපොභාති ආනා  
වස්ස පච්චිසෙපරෙහෙසුනාති.

10. කර්ෂකාසනාමයේ පිටි.

“ ဆာဇ္ဇဝေဉာဏဿိသန္တဿိ ဗရိရဿိဘာဗတဂ္ဂမ္မေဟိဿိ၊ နုဗ္ဗတ  
 ဘိ ဝိဗတဘိဓိဃိ။—ဗုဒ္ဓာဓိ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓာဗ္ဗံ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဝံ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဝံ၊—ဗုဒ္ဓတမ္မိ  
 ဘိ နာဉာဓိဝေဓဗ္ဗာဗုဒ္ဓဗ္ဗာဗိဗာဓမ္မာမ္မေဟိ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓာဓိ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဓိ။

11. අසඹමා මිමානාං මහිමනානාගලාපොච්ඡි.

a අසලාචනායධාතුයා මිත්‍ර ඉවේතාසං විහතතිංගං වුන් වහා දෙසාගොනාවා බාතුසානොවා ලොපොමං...අමයි, අමන්; අසම්, අසම.

12. ဘုရားသီတင်း.

“ අසලුච්චිතස්සධාතුස්ස ඵස්සවිහතතිස්ස තථිතනංගොති ධා  
තූකතස්සලොපොච්ඡාදායී.”

13. විසූෂිත වේගය.

“ අසලුවනායධාතූයා තිස්සවිහරාතිස්ස න්දිතාංගොති ධා  
තීනතස්සඥාපොච්ඡාමං අත්ථි.

14. ကုမ္ပဏီတို့က။

a අසලුවනායධාතූයානුසාරී විභතතීසී පට්ටතංගොති ධාතූනාසලුවාපාච්ඡාදනී.

15. **සිතියම.**

၁။ ဗုဒ္ဓဝေဒနာသမာဓိတရား နှစ်ပါးတို့၏ ဗုဒ္ဓဘာသာဝေဒနာသမာဓိတရား  
ကို ကောက်ချက်ချပါ။

16. ලහසමා ර් ඉනානාං තථි තථං.

a ලහඹුවෙව්තායධානුසාරී ඉදිකිරීමේ වැඩට අමතරව පොළොන්නරුව දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ සේවය කරමින් සිටින බැවින් එම සේවයෙන් මුදා හරවා ගැනීමට කටයුතු කෙරෙනු ඇත.

17. **සාධකමාලිකාව.**

“ නුබ්බුලෙච්ඡාසා ධාතුසා ඊච්ඡානතිස්ස චජ්ඣොති ධාතුවාන  
සංග්ලාපොච්ඡංගොකාමිථි.

18. သုခသုတ္တနနိပါတေ.

“ දුෂ්ටචිතයෝ ධාත්තුයෝ සඳ්ධයෝ දජ්ජාදොසාගොතිවා.....  
දජ්ජම්, දඤ්ජය්, දඬුම්, දඳය්.

19. විද්‍යා විභාග.

“විද්‍යාවිචිතයා ධාතුයා සබ්බයා වජ්ජගෙසාගොතිවා  
වජ්ජම්, වරජය්‍ය, වදම්, වදෙය්‍ය.

37. අනන්තතො පද්‍යනි පරස්සපදනතං.

a අනන්තතොපද්‍යනි කවිපරස්සපදමාපජ්ජනෙතං ~~~~~ වුවකි,  
ලබ්‍හකි, පවකි, කර්‍යකි, සිජ්කකි.

කවිතිකිමත්? 'වුවකි, ලබ්‍හකි, පවකි, කර්‍යකි,  
සිජ්කකි.'

38. අකාරගතමො භියතනනාජ්ජනනිකාලාතිපතනිසු.

a කවිඅකාරගතමොගොති භියතනනාජ්ජනනි කාලාතිපතති ඉ  
වෙතසුචිහතනිසු ~~~~~ අ ගමා, අගමි, අගමිසා.

කවිතිකිමත්? 'ගමා, ගමි, ගමිස්සා.'

39. බ්‍රූතො ර්නිවිති.

a බ්‍රූඉවෙතසා ධාතුසා ර්කාරගතමො ගොති තිමිති විහතනිමි  
හි ~~~~~ බ්‍රූචිති.

40. ධාතුසානන්තාලොපොනකසරස්ස.

a ධාතුසානන්තා කවිලොපොගොති යදනකසරස්ස ~~~~~  
ගච්ඡති, පවති, සරති, මරති, වරති.

අනෙකසරස්සෙතිකිමත්? 'පාති, යාති, දුති, භාති, වාති'—කවිති  
කිමත්? 'මහිසති, මවිසති.'

41. ඉසුයමානවනන්තාලොපො.

a ඉසුයම ඉවෙච්ඡං ධාතුනමනන්තාලොපොගොතිවා ~~~~~ ඉච්ඡ  
ති, නියච්ඡති.

වාතිකිමත්? 'ච්ඡති, නියච්ඡති.'

42. කාරිතානං ලොපං

a කාරිතඉවෙච්ඡෙසංපච්ඡයානං ලොපමාපජ්ජනෙතං ~~~~~  
කාරෙති, කාරයති, කාරපෙති, කාරපයති.

සාසනස්සමුද්දිඨං මයාඤ්ඤාතං සමාසතො  
සකබ්බිච්චිසෙසො විත්තයත්තු විවඤ්ඤා.

ඉතිආඤ්ඤාතකප්පෙ චතුර්ථොකඛො.







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